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The experience and impact of traumatic perinatal event experiences in midwives: A qualitative investigation

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1 ABSTRACT

Background: Through their work midwives may experience distressing events that fulfil criteria for trauma. However there is a paucity of research examining the impact of these events, or what is perceived to be helpful/unhelpful by midwives afterwards. **Objective:** To investigate midwives' experiences of traumatic perinatal events, and to provide insights into experiences and responses reported by midwives with and without subsequent posttraumatic stress symptoms. **Design:** Semi-structured telephone interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of midwives following participation in a previous postal survey.

Methods: 35 midwives who had all experienced a traumatic perinatal event defined using the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (version IV) Criterion A for posttraumatic stress disorder were interviewed. Two groups of midwives with high or low distress (as reported during the postal survey) were purposefully recruited. High distress was defined as presence of clinical levels of PTSD symptomatology and high perceived impairment in terms of impacts on daily life. Low distress was defined as any symptoms of PTSD present were below clinical threshold and low perceived life impairment. Interviews were analysed using template analysis, an iterative process of organising and coding qualitative data chosen for this study for its flexibility. An initial template of four *a priori* codes was used to structure the analysis: event characteristics, perceived responses and impacts, supportive and helpful strategies and reflection of change over time Codes were amended, integrated and collapsed as appropriate through the process of analysis. A final template of themes from each group is presented together with differences outlined where applicable.

Results: Event characteristics were similar between groups, and involved severe, unexpected episodes contributing to feeling 'out of a comfort zone.' Emotional upset, self-blame and feelings of vulnerability to investigative procedures were reported. High distress midwives were more likely to report being personally upset by events and to perceive all aspects of personal and professional lives to be affected. Both groups valued talking about the event with peers, but perceived support from senior colleagues and supervisors to be either absent or inappropriate following their experience; however, those with high distress were more likely to endorse this view and report a perceived need to seek external input. Conclusion: Findings indicate a need to consider effective ways of promoting and facilitating access to support, at both a personal and organisational level, for midwives following the experience of a traumatic perinatal event.

KEYWORDS. Indirect exposure to trauma, midwives, posttraumatic stress, template analysis

1 CONTRIBUTION OF THE PAPER

- What is already known about the topic?
 - Maternity professionals may encounter events that fulfil criteria for trauma whilst providing care to women, with potential implications for their own psychological wellbeing
 - There is a paucity of research considering the experience, impact and management of responses as reported by midwives following exposure to traumatic perinatal events

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What this paper adds:

- Findings from this interview study indicate that the characteristics of traumatic perinatal events were similar between midwives with high and low levels of resulting distress, but that differences arose in the appraisal of responses, impacts and receipt of support
- Midwives valued the opportunity to talk about their experience with peers, but felt that
 access to support from clinical midwifery managers or supervisors of midwives was
 not always available or accessible; midwives with high distress sought external input
- Midwives with high distress following a traumatic perinatal event were more likely to feel personally upset and perceive all aspects of their life (personal and professional) to be adversely affected

MAIN TEXT

INTRODUCTION

Adverse perinatal events are rare in the developed world. However, situations can arise where there is a potential threat to the mother or her child, which can fulfil criteria for trauma (APA, 2013). The potential for mothers to experience birth as traumatic has been identified in previous research (Czarnocka & Slade, 2000). There is a paucity of research considering the experiences of midwives who, through providing care during the perinatal period, may also encounter difficult events that they perceive to be traumatic (Sheen, Spiby & Slade, 2014).

Indirect exposure to trauma can elicit posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). PTSD is characterised by involuntary and distressing recollections of the traumatic event in the form of flashbacks, nightmares and intrusive imagery. These responses occur with avoidance of reminders (people, places, thoughts) of the event and heightened arousal, where concentration and sleep can be disrupted. PTSD also encompasses alterations to worldview beliefs and affective states, including feelings of guilt, fear or shame (APA, 2013).

Emerging international research highlights the potential for maternity professionals to experience some maternity events as traumatic, and for a proportion to develop PTSD symptoms (Beck & Gable, 2012; Goldbort et al., 2011). Beck and Gable (2012) reported that a third of surveyed US labour and delivery nurses (total n= 464) experienced symptoms synonymous with PTSD after a difficult obstetric experience encountered through professional practice. A qualitative study of US intrapartum nurses reported evidence of flashbacks following traumatic birthing events (Goldbort et al., 2011). Variations in role autonomy between maternity professionals in different contexts (Malott et al., 2008) and limited research with UK midwives indicate a need for specific exploration, especially where compassionate care is a contemporary policy driver (Department of Health, 2012).

Sheen, Spiby and Slade (2015) conducted the first large-scale UK survey of midwives' (n= 421) experiences of traumatic perinatal events. One third of respondents to the survey reported clinically significant levels of PTS symptoms. However the overall response rate was low at 16% (n=464), with 90% (n= 421) reporting an experience of trauma. It is likely respondents were those for whom the survey was most relevant and therefore biased to those with distress. To be conservative in any extrapolation of findings in reporting we have assumed that the survey respondents included all midwives experiencing distress following a traumatic perinatal event, and that all non-respondents were entirely non-symptomatic. Using these conservative assumptions the findings still indicate that at a minimum of 1 in 6 UK

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midwives have experienced trauma, and that 1 in 20 are suffering with clinically significant posttraumatic stress symptoms. This will certainly underestimate the number of midwives with difficulty as some will not have returned their questionnaire due to, for example, potential for distress from recounting their experience,

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- Experiencing trauma had implications for midwives' personal and professional wellbeing. Midwives reported taking time away from practice, changing their clinical allocation and considering leaving midwifery following their traumatic perinatal experience. The majority of people who experience a traumatic event will not develop PTSD (Ehlers & Clark, 2000). It is useful to compare perceptions of individuals with and without elevated levels of distress
- following trauma exposure, to identify any differences in experiences, impacts or receipt of
- support. Through this, preventive and supportive strategies can be developed.

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Aim

To provide an in-depth investigation into the experience, perceived impact and management of responses in midwives.

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Design

Semi-structured telephone interviews were conducted with a purposive sample of midwives following participation in a postal survey (Sheen et al., 2015).

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Ethical Approval

- 23 Ethical approval was obtained in May 2011 from the Department of Psychology at the
- 24 University of Sheffield. Representatives from the Royal College of Midwives' (RCM)
- 25 Education and Research Committee reviewed the aims and methods of the research and
- 26 considered it acceptable for members.

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Procedure

- 29 The initial sample was a random sample of qualified midwives, contacted via the Royal
- College of Midwives (please see Sheen et al., 2015 for a detailed procedure). All midwives in
- 31 this sample had experienced at least one traumatic perinatal event corresponding to Criterion
- 32 A of the DSM-IV for PTSD (APA, 2000). Midwives were sent a questionnaire, and as part of
- this they could indicate willingness to take part in a telephone interview about a traumatic
- perinatal experience. The questionnaire included scales measuring PTSD (Impact of Event
- 35 Scale-Revised; IES-R; Weiss & Marmer, 1987) and perceived impairment to home, social
- and work life (Sheehan Disability Scale; SDS; Sheehan, 1983). Scores >33 on the IES-R

were considered to indicate clinical levels of PTSD symptoms (Rash et al., 2008) and scores

>4 on the SDS were inferred to indicate high impairment.

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The sample for the present study was recruited from midwives who consented to be contacted and either 1) scored >33 on the IES-R and >4 on all SDS subscales or 2) scored <34 on the IES-R and <5 on all subscales of the SDS. Thus two groups were formed; high distress (n= 16; HH; high PTS symptoms and high impairment) and low distress (n= 19; LL; low PTS symptoms and low impairment). An additional 'mixed distress' group was formed (high PTS, low impairment; n=5). However the small sample limited cohesion in midwives' descriptions and so these are not presented in this analysis. As would be expected no midwives reported low distress and high impairment. Midwives who consented to interview were informed that the purpose of the study was to explore their experience of a traumatic perinatal event.

14 **Interview Guide**

The interview guide included four sections; event characteristics, perceived response and impact, supportive and helpful strategies and reflection of change over time. The guide was piloted with three midwives (one HH, two LL) and an amendment was made to recheck the criteria for a traumatic perinatal event immediately prior to commencing the interview. Pilot interviews were not included in the final analysis.

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Data collection

- 22 Semi-structured, one-to-one telephone interviews of up to one hour were conducted between
- 23 August and December 2012 by the first author. All interviews were digitally recorded and
- 24 transcribed verbatim.

25 **Analysis**

Transcripts were analysed using template analysis (King, 2012). This method was selected for its flexibility and utility in structuring analysis according to initial areas as identified in an outline template, whilst allowing for the main focus to be population of the template by emergent subthemes. However if indicated by the data, there can also be emergence of new main themes or restructuring/collapsing of initial themes. The initial 'template' consisted of four a priori codes; event characteristics, responses and impacts, supportive and helpful strategies and reflections over time. Analysis began with close reading of the text and preliminary open coding. The template was developed through an iterative process of discussion between the researcher (KS) and supervisors (PS and HS). Emergent patterns across interviews were identified and codes merged or amended. Four iterations of the RUNNING HEAD: The experience and impact of traumatic perinatal event experiences in 6 midwives

- 1 template were conducted. The final template was developed through discussion with the
- 2 supervisory team and checks for contradictory evidence were routinely employed.

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- 4 Interviews from each group (HH and LL) were analysed separately. The penultimate
- 5 template for the HH group provided a framework to compare with the LL group. The final
- 6 template included themes identified in both groups and themes distinct to one group only.
- 7 Table 2 displays the final template; distinct themes are denoted in **bold**.

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Analytic approach

- 10 Midwives' reports were considered to provide an insight into the experience of a traumatic
- perinatal event but it was assumed that these perspectives were constructed from personal,
- 12 social and contextual circumstances.

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Reflexivity

- Reflexivity in qualitative research acknowledges the potential for the interviewer's personal
- disposition to influence the interpretation of data (Finlay, 2002). The researcher was a
- Psychology postgraduate student with no personal experience of childbearing but awareness
- 18 of the potential impact of indirect trauma exposure. Potential for bias was managed by
- adopting clear focus throughout the interview process; to explore midwives' experiences from
- their perspective.

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RESULTS

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- 24 Demographic details of midwives are provided in Table 1. Midwives in both groups reported
- a similar number of traumatic perinatal experiences throughout their career (Table 1). Thirty
- percent (31% HH, 32% LL) of midwives had experienced a traumatic perinatal event during
- the year prior to the interview. Themes are displayed in Table 2.

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1. Event characteristics (4 themes)

- Themes in this section related to aspects that were perceived to increase difficulty during the
- 31 traumatic perinatal event. The first three were present in both groups. The fourth theme was
- 32 salient for midwives with high distress only.

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1.1. Sudden, unpredictable and uncontrollable events (HH and LL)

35 Events were severe and sudden;

"Although it's a horrible, you know - it's a horrible experience- it's not...overall it's

worse if you've got a relationship with them." [ID 458, LL]

Some midwives reported difficulties when relaying sad news to parents:

the mother:

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1 2 "...the absolute worst bit was walking back into that room with that dead baby in my 3 arms and telling the parents [...] and that was just the worse thing I've truly ever done. And that woman's scream will live with me forever." [ID 40, LL] 4 5 6 Midwives were aware that mothers and their partners were upset by the event, and tried to 7 'buffer' the impact of the event for them through providing additional support, reassurance 8 and ensuring that communication was as effective as it could be. 9 10 "I had anxieties because obviously the woman was anxious. I'm trying to calm her 11 down and reassure her at the same time." [ID 129, HH] 12 13 There was a distinction identified in this theme; midwives with high distress appraised 14 implications of the event in a personal way, and reported feeling personally upset following 15 the event. 16 17 "Well they, you know that person has lost a child, lost their baby, and they're in shock, 18 you equally as the midwife are in shock, you haven't lost the baby but because of the 19 relationship that you build up with the women that you care for you know there is this 20 extended feelings of going through a journey with them. [...] So you feel shocked as 21 well at what's happened [...] you go down that grief trajectory definitely." [ID 242, HH] 22 23 In contrast, midwives with low distress acknowledged the sadness of the event for the 24 parents, but did not report feeling personally affected. 25 26 "Just that, 'oh god what a waste of a' - you know cause he was such a perfect little 27 baby – what a waste of a little life." [ID 172, LL] 28 29 1.3. Managing feelings to maintain a professional appearance (HH and LL) 30 Both groups reported 'going into auto-pilot', ignoring their feelings and focusing on 31 completing the relevant procedures, in order to maintain a professional appearance. 32 33 "...you have to maintain an air of professionalism when you're at work [...] I'm not 34 saying you should never well up in front of a parent but actually your responsibility is to look after them not make them feel any worse than they feel already. So I think 35

you hold it in all the time you're at work." [ID 129, HH]

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know you can't crumble." [ID 362, LL]

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However, midwives with low distress also acknowledged that they were not alone in feeling like this.

"My colleague came back and was just the same – I mean she was more shocked than me because she entered the labour room and I said oh my god [name omitted] baby's dead. And she just went – she was in more shock than I was and that shocked me- her, you know, she just – she went to pieces nearly. Went and started crying and 'oh my god' you know. [...] I mean we were all upset." [ID 172, LL]

2.2. Self-blame and guilt (HH and LL)

Uncertainty about the cause of many events led midwives from both groups to automatically question their practice after the event;

"I put added stress on myself by beating myself up about the fact that could I have done something about it? That was the overwhelming feeling of what could I have done differently." [ID 129, HH]

This led to feelings of guilt and self-blame, and midwives reported feeling that they had 'let the mother down' when a birthing episode ended with an unfortunate outcome.

"I felt that I'd let them down, you know even though it was beyond my control and there was nothing that I could have done about it [...] I knew that, but it was my job to present them with a healthy baby, that's what midwives do, they look after mothers don't they and at the end that is the end result and everybody's happy." [ID 362, LL]

2.3. Attempting to make sense of what happened (HH and LL)

Due to the ambiguous nature of many of the events reported, midwives attempted to process details of their experience and reported a period of rumination. This was sometimes voluntary (i.e., purposefully replaying the event) but for some this was involuntary;

"Oh it – I was very upset actually. Just couldn't get her out of my mind. It was constantly on my mind and then you know the day that I was told that she'd died was very, very sad." [ID 108 LL]

Midwives also attempted to 'pull together' facts of the event, by calling the ward after the event to ascertain the outcome or seeking diagnostic information.

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"...you know when you've pieced the jigsaw together, the reason was the baby was born with haemolytic strep which is an infection. Now that was the cause you know- if you start to unpick." [ID 242, HH]

2.4. Feelings of vulnerability and judgement (HH and LL)

Midwives in both groups felt vulnerable to investigative procedures that were taking place, however the nature of this vulnerability differed in focus between groups.

"Because of the high level of people that were in the room. People who – you know the head consultants were there. Representative chief executive of the hospital was there. You know, these people you only just hear their names you don't actually sit around a table with them and to suddenly have to give a resume of what happened [...]" [ID 108, LL]

Midwives with low distress felt intimidated by the seriousness of the investigative procedures; however, they also recognised that such procedures were not necessarily to apportion blame.

"I had to write a statement out [...] so that was rather sort of disconcerting but you know that's what they have to do" [ID 362, LL]

In contrast, midwives with high distress were more likely to feel that they personally (and their practice in general) were under scrutiny.

"So what they then do is like ask other people, so what else has she done this midwife that is bad? So like, punitive against you. "[ID 203, HH]

Some in the HH group but none in the LL group perceived investigative procedures to be 'heavy handed,' and to feel personally 'punished' as a result.

"I was absolutely devastated. Absolutely, I broke down, I was sobbing and I just thought I'd done nothing to hurt this person, this mum, nothing at all. I went to the funeral because she wanted me to go to the funeral and all they've done is... I feel like I'm being punished." [ID 328, HH]

2.5. A permeating impact on professional life (HH and LL)

	RUNNING HEAD: The experience and impact of traumatic perinatal event experiences in 12 midwives
1	For both groups, the impact of the event permeated aspects of professional life. Midwives
2	reported practising in an increasingly defensive manner to prevent similar occurrences
3	happening again or felt less confident in their practice.
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5	"Just if anybody had a tweak or a pain or a twinge I was nearly on overkill then. You
6	know just - when maybe there was no reason to worry, I was worrying because I
7	didn't want things to go wrong again, you know- just being over anxious." [ID 358,
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10	Some midwives also reported considering leaving midwifery, or changing their clinical
11	allocation as a result;
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13	"It actually led me to look for other work outside of the acute side of midwifery and I
14	actually got a job to go and work out in the Community because I couldn't, I really
15	couldn't face having to work in the same environment where that potential situation
16	could have happened again." [ID 15, HH]
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18	Midwives with high distress reported impacts to their personal lives; for example, becoming
19	fearful about potential adverse events occurring to other people in their life or vigilant for the
20	safety of those around them.
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22	"No it sort of just set off this anxiety in me. I think it was almost like vulnerability of life
23	or something. […] Like one of my daughters – just her driving. She'd been driving for
24	several years. She drives around all the time. And suddenly I was worried – she's
25	out driving, she might have an accident. Nothing at all relating to the actual thing." [ID
26	251]
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28	Midwives with high distress also noticed changes in the way they felt or their general
29	demeanour following the event. This ranged in severity, with some midwives reporting feeling
30	low in their mood and withdrawn, to others reporting serious implications for their
31	psychological health. Family and home lives were also impacted.
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33	"Personally it has really affected me because, well it ruined my relationship with my
34	ex-husband, my divorce, my children- they have all suffered because of it." [ID 203,
35	HH]
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2.6. An enduring psychological impact (HH and LL)

	RUNNING HEAD: The experience and impact of traumatic perinatal event experiences in 13 midwives
1 2	Both groups reported the memory of the traumatic perinatal event as vivid and enduring.
3	"I can't forget it. I can't forget it. I can still see the lady's face. I can't forget that. I'm
4	not going to forget it." [ID 316, HH]
5	,
6	However, unlike midwives with high distress, midwives with low distress reported being able
7	to recall their traumatic experience without negative affect.
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9	"It's not something that haunts me or anything" [ID 391, LL]
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11	3. Helpful aspects and use of support (4 themes)
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13	This section included ways that midwives attempted to manage any responses to traumatic
14	perinatal events, and their perceptions of accessing and receiving support.
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16	3.1. Taking steps to prevent a similar occurrence from happening again (HH and
17	LL)
18	Midwives valued the opportunity to learn from their experience and improve their future
19	practice, to prevent a similar occurrence (or feeling a similar way). This included practical
20	changes to procedure or protocol in organisational settings and personal changes to
21	practice, such as becoming more assertive.
22	
23	"I've used it as a learning tool, I've kind of tried to turn it the other way round and think
24	what can I use from this, and I've used it to develop my confidence back again, I've
25	used it to cope with similar scenarios, how I deal with those kind of stressful
26	scenarios […]" [ID 15, HH]
27	
28	3.2. Helpful strategies to manage responses in personal lives (HH and LL)
29	Midwives reported implementing coping strategies in their personal lives.
30	
31	"Yeah I just, I just need that hour and you know just once a week just knowing that I
32	could just clear my mind, clear my thoughts, switch my phone off. My kids were in

There were also reports in both groups, albeit predominantly reported by those with low distress, of speaking about events with partners.

school safe and that was just an hour for me." [ID 172 LL]

RUNNING HEAD: The experience and impact of traumatic perinatal event experiences in	14
midwives	

"My husband's almost a midwife by proxy I think really [laugh]" [ID 391, LL] 1 2 3 3.3. Wanting to talk about it: accessing and receiving helpful support from peers 4 (HH and LL) 5 Speaking to colleagues about the event was a valuable source of support for midwives in 6 both groups however it was more prominently reported by midwives with low levels of 7 distress. 8 9 "Once you've talked to somebody about it properly it's as if a weight is just lifted off 10 your shoulders and you can actually speak about it and you feel like you, you know 11 you've just got it off your chest and you can sort of move on in a way." [ID 433, HH] 12 13 Midwives particularly valued speaking to colleagues with similar (traumatic) experiences. 14 15 "So I think there is definitely you know a source of support from the sort professional 16 subculture in a way that you know only somebody who's been through what you've 17 been through can understand you know how you cope with it." [ID 283, LL] 18 19 Talking about the event was reported as a helpful way to reduce personal feelings of 20 culpability. However there was a distinction in the mechanism behind the helpfulness of this 21 between groups. Midwives with high distress valued emotional support and reassurance. 22 23 "I just needed somebody telling me that it wasn't all my fault." [ID 358, HH] 24 25 However midwives with low distress valued talking through the event with colleagues as a 26 method of gaining an objective perspective of the event. 27 28 "I think it's incredibly helpful to talk things through and I think even explaining this to 29 you so thoroughly actually confirms with me that yes you know its ok now" [ID 320, 30 LL] 31 32 3.4. Perceived absence or inappropriateness of support from senior colleagues or 33 senior management (HH and LL) 34 There were mixed perceptions about the nature of support received from senior managers or

colleagues. Whilst there was evidence for some midwives accessing helpful support from

their supervisor of midwives, a predominant perception reported by both groups was that

support from senior colleagues or management was lacking:

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"It's often you know on a tick list that the parents have been debriefed. It's never on the tick list that the staff have debriefed." [ID 207, LL]

Furthermore, midwives in both groups felt that the focus of any contact with senior colleagues was to determine the extent of wrongdoing, rather than to ascertain the nature of impact upon them.

"When I actually saw her that she wasn't in the least bit interested in making feel better about it or anything else. She just wanted to analyse her notes to see where we could get sued or not if necessary. I didn't feel at all that she was doing it any way to support me." [ID 251, HH]

A small proportion of midwives with high distress felt that support was inaccessible, or that senior colleagues and managers did not acknowledge or understand the nature of impact that the event held for them.

"Yeah, I don't get any support really. There's nobody really I can go to. They say you can go to your supervisor. But my supervisor isn't always available. And she can be busy." [ID 10, HH]

Some midwives with high distress reported a need to seek professional input. Where the source of this input was indicated, this included counselling. Midwives with low levels of distress acknowledged that external support was available for them, but did not perceive this as necessary.

"It's been easier just to have counselling - to kind of talk it through with somebody that way." [ID 57, HH]

4. Reflective statements (4 themes)

The final section relates to general perceptions held by midwives about the nature of impacts over time, and contextual issues about practice that are influenced by or associated with the experience of traumatic perinatal events.

4.1. 'Overcoming the impact': Gaining acceptance and the value of time (HH and LL)

RUNNING HEAD: The experience and impact of traumatic perinatal event experiences in 16 midwives Midwives in both groups reported obtaining a sense of acceptance about the inevitability of 1 2 experiencing an adverse event that would be personally distressing for them at a point during 3 their career. 4 5 "You can't prevent it from happening no matter how scientifically advanced we get." 6 [ID 129, HH] 7 8 Midwives with low distress, however, also reported an acknowledgement of their own (and 9 other people's in general) limitations in preventing or improving adverse situations. 10 11 "I suppose for me it made me rationalise that you can do your very best for somebody 12 but still have a poor outcome and that doesn't mean it's anybody's fault it's just that, 13 you know, we're not Gods and we can't solve everything." [ID 283, LL] 14 15 Midwives with high distress reported that, over time, the severity of response was 16 diminishing. This was particularly facilitated where midwives attended subsequent, positive 17 birthing episodes. 18 19 "I had a lovely home birth last night. You know that was lovely. Restored my faith in 20 midwifery completely. You know when you have a bad week and you have a lovely 21 delivery experience you just think 'oh I know why I'm doing the job now."" [ID 316, HH] 22 23 4.2. Working in the context of a stressful job (HH and LL) 24 Midwives perceived that they worked within a 'blame culture,' and felt that adverse 25 occurrences were naturally followed by attempts to assess culpability in their working 26 environment. 27 28 "Unfortunately in this country there is a blame culture in maternity services that 29 parents do want to blame the midwife when anything goes wrong you know and 30

everybody expects a wonderful outcome and unfortunately babies do die in this country of unknown causes." [ID 172, LL]

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Midwives also reported feelings of stress from their role; however, the nature of this stress differed between groups. Midwives with high levels of distress reported feelings of stress specifically in relation to a perceived lack of staff, low morale in the workplace, and limited resources in their job role.

RUNNING HEAD: The experience and impact of traumatic perinatal event experiences in 17 midwives

"But it's so- what I feel is they force you into these emergency situations and the way that everything is organised is just dangerous in some ways. You know? And this becoming more and more with all the staff shortages and whatever." [ID 203, HH]

However midwives with low distress reported feelings of stress that were more generalised, and related to the high level of responsibility that is intrinsic to the midwifery role. This was a generalised recognition that their role as a midwife held significant responsibility that, although stressful, could not be realistically avoided.

"Basically every day we go to work you just put your life on the line really, your career on the line that's how it feels. This is just one really easy example of that." [ID 223, LL]

4.3. Events contradicting the public perception of childbirth (HH and LL)

There was reference also to the difference between the way in which childbirth, and midwifery as a profession, differed in reality to public perceptions or expectations.

"You can do all you can and it still doesn't always work, which is not what people come in for when they expect to come out with a nice, happy baby don't they - that's there laughing and crying with them, that they can take home, and you know you feel a bit of a failure yourself if you can't achieve that for them." [ID 25. LL]

4.4. Recognition of a need for change (HH and LL)

Midwives felt that aspects of their working environment could be altered to increase the amount of personalised support available.

"There needs to be some, a better support network particularly for the younger midwives and you know, or less experienced midwives coming forward [...] it can be isolating for some people and if they haven't got anybody to go to, to talk to, then that obviously, you know can lead to you know people having unnecessary time off work, depression." [ID 293, LL]

Midwives with high distress felt unprepared to experience trauma through their professional practice.

"You don't get any formal training. I don't remember at any point in my training someone saying you're going to have something that will happen to you in your

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career that will make you never want to go back to work and will make you doubt your ability to do your job properly [...] Because you prepare soldiers on the battlefield for how they might feel when they get home. I'm not likening it to a battlefield but it's still a traumatic event." [ID 129, LL]

DISCUSSION

This study provided the first in-depth investigation into the experience, perceived impacts and helpful or supportive strategies used by UK midwives who experienced a work-related traumatic perinatal event. Comparison of midwives with high or low resulting distress highlights differences in the perceived impact and receipt of support between groups. Whilst there may be some differences in professional roles and scope of practice between different countries (Malott et al., 2008), midwives and nurse-midwives in other settings are likely to experience similar obstetric events or involvement in investigations of adverse events. These factors render the findings of this research of international importance.

Event characteristics

There was a high degree of similarity in events described by midwives with both high and low levels of resulting distress, suggesting that the groups differed not in the nature of the events experienced, but in the appraisal of impacts and the receipt of support.

Existing relationships with families for whom they were providing care was perceived to increase difficulty. Findings are consistent with a qualitative study with Australian midwives, where 'feeling for the woman' was perceived to increase the likelihood of experiencing an event as traumatic (Rice & Warland, 2013), and a recent mixed-methods survey with American nurse-midwives where presence of a bond with the mother was an element identified in their reported experiences (Beck, LoGiudice & Gable, 2015). Findings from our study emphasises relationships with women receiving care as a potential vulnerability factor for midwives.

Quantitative analysis of findings from our previous postal survey, which included respondents from this interview study, did not identify a statistical association between the number of years experience in the profession and PTS symptomatology (Sheen et al., 2015). However findings from this in-depth analysis highlights a vulnerability for midwives with fewer years working as a midwife perceiving events as traumatic and indicates the requirement for preventative strategies or increased support for more junior members of staff.

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Midwives identified a need to manage personal feelings during events to maintain a professional appearance. Managing feelings to conform to perceived 'feeling rules' within an organisational climate (Hochschild, 1983, p. 7) is referred to as 'emotion work,' which is associated with increased feelings of stress and can contribute to burnout (Mackin & Sinclair, 1998).

- Initial response and impacts
- Midwives reported practising in an increasingly defensive manner (e.g., intervening sooner than they may have done previously). Whilst defensive practice of this kind is not necessarily harmful for mothers, it is associated with the potential for increasing interventions (Symon, 2000). Midwives also reported changing their clinical allocation or considering leaving the profession altogether. This is consistent with recent research with American nurse midwives where changing allocation or leaving midwifery were identified implications of witnessing traumatic birth (Beck et al., 2015). With existing strain on maternity services in the UK (in part) due to a rising birth rate and general shortfall of midwifery staff (RCM, 2013); supporting

midwives and preventing further attrition from the workforce is essential.

The guilt and self-blame reported by midwives parallel findings from a smaller qualitative study of Australian midwives who reported feeling as though they had "failed" the mother, even when not directly responsible after an adverse event (Rice & Warland, 2013, p. 1060). Feelings of guilt are also implicated in the development of PTS responses (Ehlers & Clark, 2000), and therefore may require further attention when developing preventative interventions.

Furthermore, ruminative thoughts about a traumatic event predict, and are associated with, the maintenance of PTSD (DiGangi et al., 2013; Ehring, Frank & Ehlers, 2008; Michael et al., 2007). It is hypothesised that persistent focus on 'what if' and 'why' serves as a form of cognitive avoidance from the acute, intrusive details of the event (Michael et al., 2007). Furthermore, focus on specific aspects of an event may inhibit cognitive processing required to integrate the event into autobiographical memory (Foa & Kizak, 1986; Michael et al., 2007). In many settings midwives are encouraged to be reflective practitioners. There may be a requirement to address the potential for midwives to ruminate following traumatic perinatal event experiences. For example, increasing midwives' understanding about how to manage rumination after a traumatic event could reduce distress or aid self-awareness about when additional support is required.

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Midwives were generally able to access emotional and social support from their midwifery colleagues but this was less prominently reported by midwives with high distress. Instead, these midwives sometimes sought professional input from an external source. Where the nature of this input was elaborated upon, midwives only described speaking with a counsellor about their experience. The fact that several of these midwives remained symptomatic is consistent with guidance from NICE (2005) that the provision of non-directive counselling in the treatment of PTSD is contraindicated. Access to appropriate psychological assessment and input for midwives experiencing PTS symptomatology following a traumatic perinatal event is essential.

Whilst there were some instances of midwives with low distress reporting that support received from their supervisor of midwives was helpful for them, some midwives perceived contact from senior colleagues, managers or supervisors of midwives to be lacking, difficult to access, or (when received) to have a punitive focus. Therefore midwives may have important unmet needs in terms of accessing emotional support for events encountered throughout their practice and current avenues of support (e.g., supervisors of midwives), are not always perceived as helpful in this context.

Reflections over time

Midwives with high levels of distress cited low levels of staff and increasing demands within the workplace as contributing to feelings of work-related stress, which is consistent with previous findings with other maternity professionals (Beck & Gable, 2012). Therefore these findings emphasise the contribution of a stressful working environment to feelings of difficulty during (and following) adverse perinatal events.

Over a decade ago, Kirkham (2000) wrote about the 'culture of coping' in midwifery, where midwives felt unsupported in their practice following adverse events. Findings from this study confirm this observation, and that perceptions of a blame-focused environment may contribute to difficulty following traumatic perinatal events.

Acceptance of the inevitability that some experiences will be perceived as traumatic was also regarded as helpful by midwives. In the low distress group there was additional acknowledgement for personal limitations as a midwife, and the likelihood of being distressed following traumatic perinatal events. Focusing on the positive aspects of an adverse situation is a strategy associated with resilience (Jackson et al., 2007). These findings parallel those of Hunter and Warren (2013), who investigated UK midwives' perceptions of resilience in

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their practice. Further research is required to identify ways of facilitating resilience in midwives following exposure to trauma.

3 4

- Comparison between high and low distress groups
- 5 Midwives with high levels of distress felt personally upset and isolated during events,
- 6 'punished' by other people following the event and that investigative procedures involved an
- 7 assessment of their general abilities as a midwife. This contrasts with midwives reporting low
- 8 levels of distress, who acknowledged the sadness of the event but did not feel personally
- 9 distressed, recognised that they were not alone in feeling shocked, and acknowledged that
- 10 investigative procedures were event-focused and not to apportion blame. Therefore there
- was a greater level of personalisation identified in the appraisals formed by midwives with
- high distress and generalization of the adverse responses.

13

- 14 A negative, global appraisal style and perceptions of unfair treatment or blame are implicated
- in the development of PTS responses (Dalgleish, 2004; Ehlers & Clark, 2000; Foa et al.,
- 16 1999). Therefore, the nature of processing style reported by midwives with high distress is
- 17 consistent with cognitive theory. Recognition of this trajectory provides a means of identifying
- 18 midwives who may be at increased risk of developing PTS responses following traumatic
- 19 perinatal events.

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Implications

- 22 The midwifery profession in the UK is under increasing strain from rising birth rates, staff
- shortages and a significant proportion of the midwifery workforce approaching retirement age
- 24 (ONS, 2014, RCM, 2013). There is an urgent need to understand aspects of midwifery
- practice that could influence retention of the existing workforce, and findings from this study
- 26 highlight traumatic perinatal event exposure as an important component of this. PTS
- 27 responses, high emotional exhaustion and practising in an increasingly defensive manner
- are also likely to negatively impact upon midwives' ability to provide compassionate care,
- with implications for women's experiences of birth and postpartum wellbeing (Elmir et al.,
- 30 2010).

- 32 Supporting midwives in the provision of compassionate care is a global priority (ten Hoope-
- 33 Bender et al., 2014). Despite an emerging international interest in the impact of difficult
- perinatal events on maternity professionals (e.g., Beck & Gable, 2012; Beck et al., 2015;
- Leinweber & Rowe, 2010; Muliira & Bezuidenhout, 2015), there is a paucity of research
- examining methods of reducing the likelihood that adverse psychological responses develop.
- 37 A pilot study with UK midwives, obstetricians and gynaecologists (n=30) indicated that

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supervision from a clinical psychologist reduced PTSD symptoms following neonatal death, stillbirth or miscarriage (Wallbank, 2010).

Findings from the present study contribute to existing literature by providing the first in-depth qualitative study of UK midwives' experiences of workplace trauma. Midwives did not always feel prepared to experience trauma, or supported in their workplace after a traumatic perinatal event. Of those seeking external input to manage feelings, appropriate input was not always provided. These findings are informative for the development of educational and supportive interventions to prepare midwives for trauma exposure, support them in their professional capacity, and to ensure the provision of appropriate psychological input.

Strengths and limitations

Whilst it was not the intention of this study to match respondents in the high and low distress groups, midwives in both groups were similar in their demographic and professional experiences, and had a similar extent of exposure to traumatic perinatal events. Due to variations in the length of time between event exposure and the interview study, inferences from those with low distress must be drawn tentatively (e.g., a longer length of time may have aided the processing of trauma event information). The small sample size of this study, recruited from an initially selective sample, limits generalisations of findings to all midwives in the UK.

Conclusions

This study provides an in-depth analysis of midwives' experiences and perceptions of the impact of encountering trauma whilst providing care to women. Event characteristics were similar between midwives with high and low levels of resulting distress. However appraisals of the impact and implication of events, and the experience of accessing support, differed between groups. Midwives with high distress had a greater propensity to perceive all aspects of personal and professional lives to be adversely impacted, and reported more difficulty in accessing support from peers and senior colleagues. Findings indicate a need to consider effective ways of promoting and facilitating access to support, at both a personal and organisational level, for midwives following the experience of a traumatic perinatal event.

Consideration should also be given to how midwives can be appropriately prepared for this aspect of practice during undergraduate education.

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Table 1. Demographic and professional designation details

rable 1. Demographic and professional d			L avv. diatassa (/ m 40\
	High distress (n=16) an (<i>SD</i>)	Low distress ((<i>n</i> =19) an (<i>SD</i>)
Age		25 (9.26)		0 (4.37)
•		` '		
Years Qualified	18.50	(10.95)	19.1	8 (8.92)
Traumatic perinatal experiences	0.0	e (0.4e)	0.0	1 (0 00)
Frequency witnessed events Frequency of accounts listened to		6 (9.46) 0 (13.09		1 (8.99) (24.30)
Frequency of accounts listened to	Median	Range	Median	_ `
Time since event experience (years)	4	1-20	6	1-20
Time since event expenence (years)	N	%	N	<u> </u>
Gender	16	100	18	95
Female				
Male	0	-	1	5
Education				
Bachelor's	7	44	5	26
Master's/ Diploma	3	19	6	32
Registered Midwife/ SCM	5	31	7	37
Currently in education	1	6		
Marital Status				
Single	2	13		-
Married/ Cohabiting	13	81	16	84
Widowed	1	6	3	16
Divorced/ Separated	0	-	19	-
Parity				
Nulliparous	2	13	0	-
Multiparous	14	87	19	100
Trauma History				
Personal trauma history (general)	10	63	10	53
Personal childbirth trauma history	5	31	7	37
Currently practicing clinically	15	94	19	100
Employer	.0	0.		.00
National Health Service (NHS)	15	94	17	90
University	-	_	1	5
Self Employed	1	6		-
Multiple	<u>'</u>	-	1	5
NHS Band (if applicable)				0
5	1	6	_	_
6	10	63	13	68
7	3	19	5	26
Currently working as*:	•	. •	•	
Hospital midwife	10	63	13	68
Community midwife	5	31	4	21
Integrated practice	2	13	4	21
Team manager	-	_	2	11
Midwifery Educator	1	6	1	5
Involved in care around*:				
Antenatal	4	25	4	21
Intrapartum	11	69	13	68
Postnatal	6	38	-	-
Community	8	50	5	26
Other (midwifery led care)	1	6	4	21

Table 2. Overview of sections, themes and inter-group differences between high (HH) and low (LL) distress groups. Group distinctions indicated in **bold**.

		roups. Group distinctions indicated in bold .
	ction	Theme
1.	Event characteristic s	1.1. Sudden, unpredictable and uncontrollable events1.2. Responding to the outcome and implication of the situation for the parents
		 Feeling upset at the outcome and having difficulty witnessing parents in distress (HH only)
		 Acknowledgement of the parents' loss and
		recognition of the implication (LL only)
		1.3. Managing feelings to maintain a professional appearanceMaintaining a stiff upper lip (just carrying on)
		afterwards (LL only)
		Struggling to carry on after the event (having to remain professional (HH only)
		1.4. Feelings of isolation (HH only)
2.	Initial responses	2.1. Emotionally distraught; feelings of shock and despairEverybody was shocked by this (LL only)
	and impacts	 It was like a personal bereavement (HH only)
		2.2. Self blame and guilt Feelings of vulnerability and judgement
		2.3. Attempting to make sense of what happened
		2.4. Feelings of vulnerability and judgement
		Feelings of punishment, unfairness and vulnerability (practice under convince) (ULL only)
		(practice under scrutiny) (HH only)
		 Acknowledgement that the investigation is not to apportion blame (LL only)
		2.5. A permeating impact on professional life
		Impact permeating personal life (HH only)
		2.6. An enduring psychological impact
3.	Helpful	3.1. Taking steps to prevent a similar occurrence from happening
	aspects and	again
	use of	3.2. Helpful strategies to manage responses in personal lives
	support	Wanting to talk about it: accessing and receiving helpful support from peers
		 Being reassured (by colleagues) (HH only)
		 Gaining an objective perspective by talking through the event (LL only)
		3.4. Perceived absence or inappropriateness of support
		 Not feeling acknowledged by senior colleagues (HH only)
	5 0 0	Having to seek own (professional) help (HH only)
4.	Reflections	4.1. 'Overcoming the impact': Gaining acceptance and the value of time
		Acceptance of personal limitations (LL only)
		It takes time, but positive subsequent experiences "dilute" feelings (ULL only)
		"dilute" feelings (HH only) 4.2. Working in the context of a stressful job
		The job in general is causing stress (HH only)
		Daunted by responsibility (LL only)
		4.3. Events contradicting public perception of childbirth
		4.4. Recognition of the need for change
		Feeling unprepared for encountering traumatic

	midwives
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