



Against all odds – Why UK mothers’ breastfeeding beyond infancy are turning to their international peers for emotional and informative support.

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3 1 **Against all odds – Why UK mothers’ breastfeeding beyond infancy are turning to their**
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5 2 **international peers for emotional and informative support.**
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8 3 **Abstract**
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11 4 The health benefits of breastfeeding are well documented and current recommendations are that
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13 5 women should breastfeed their child for two years and beyond. Despite this the UK has the
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15 6 lowest initiation breastfeeding rates in the world. Additionally, a considerably small percentage
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17 7 of women who do successfully initiate go on to breastfeed past infancy. This could in part be
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19 8 explained by the lack of support women receive when breastfeeding an older child. In this study
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21 9 we provide insight into women’s experiences of healthcare interventions during the transition
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23 10 from breastfeeding an infant to a toddler. We conducted semi-structured interviews with 24
24
25 11 women with experience of breastfeeding at least one child past the age of twelve months. We
26
27 12 used a theory driven thematic analysis to identify pertinent themes that ran through the
28
29 13 interviews. As mothers progressed through their breastfeeding journey they faced increased
30
31 14 social stigma. They also experienced a change in attitudes from healthcare professionals as
32
33 15 support was replaced by judgement. This negatively impacted upon trust in healthcare
34
35 16 professionals and the advice they offered. In response, the women turned to volunteering
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37 17 organisations and closed social media groups for emotional support and healthcare advice. These
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39 18 women experienced specific issues regarding breastfeeding in toddlerhood as opposed to
40
41 19 infancy. They needed specialised interventions tailored for this. Social media was highlighted as
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43 20 a useful platform for supporting women who breastfeed beyond infancy. It allowed these women
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45 21 to feel part of a supportive international community and gain access to practical advice.
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47 22 Healthcare professionals should explore ways to engage in digital platforms to provide support to
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49 23 mothers’ breastfeeding beyond infancy.
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3 24 The World Health Organization recommends a woman to breastfeed exclusively for six months
4
5 25 and continue for a minimum of two years and beyond to allow for optimum health benefits (WHO,
6
7 26 2018). It is universally acknowledged that these health benefits are significant, in both the long
8
9 27 and short term, for mother and child (Horta and Victora 2013a 2013b). However, breastfeeding
10
11 28 initiation and duration rates are extremely low in countries with a higher economic status (Victoria
12
13 29 *et al* 2016). The UK, for example, is a country which has one of the lowest breastfeeding uptakes
14
15 30 (UK Department of Health 2018). Additionally, of those women who do successfully initiate, a
16
17 31 shockingly low 1% is thought to go on to breastfeed beyond six months (McAndrew *et al*, 2012).
18
19 32 There are a number of researchers who have sought to understand the social, cultural and economic
20
21 33 contexts which create barriers to breastfeeding (Godbout *et al* 2016; Santorelli *et al* 2013, Brown
22
23 34 *et al* 2011; Dyson *et al* 2010; Hurst 2013; Dagher *et al* 2016; Mangrio, Persson and Bramhagen
24
25 35 2017; Boyer 2018). In response UNICEF (2016) urged the UK to develop a better national infant
26
27 36 feeding strategy. However, to date breastfeeding research has largely focussed on the issues
28
29 37 women face when initiating and establishing breastfeeding. This area is important, however, in
30
31 38 order to develop effective support for woman to breastfeed beyond infancy, we have sought to
32
33 39 understand the needs of the small percentage of mothers' breastfeeding during toddlerhood.

40 **Background**

41 There is a small selection of researchers who have sought to understand women's experiences of
42
43 42 breastfeeding beyond infancy. These researchers highlight important attributes of this period of
44
45 43 breastfeeding for mothers. These include; parenting style, the importance of the significant other,
46
47 44 social stigma or language discourse (Faircloth 2009, Dowling and Brown 2013, Brockway and
48
49 45 Venturato 2016, Tomori, Palmquist and Dowling 2016, Dowling & Pontin 2017, Newman and
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51 46 Williamson 2018). Cockerham-Colas *et al* (2012) has explored the influence, knowledge and
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3 47 attitudes of health professionals towards breastfeeding beyond infancy and found that as the age
4
5 48 of the child increased so did the negative attitudes of others. Gribble (2008) found that women
6
7 49 breastfeeding a child two years or older sought breastfeeding role models for affirmation. These
8
9 50 studies have all offered a valued insight into these women's experiences of breastfeeding during
10
11 51 this period. Our study sought to contribute to these findings further, with emphasis on exploring
12
13 52 how these women experienced different support networks.
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16 17 18 53 ***Current action needed support breastfeeding beyond infancy***

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20 54 Breastmilk is thought to be the most perfectly adapted nutritional source and personalised medicine
21
22 55 a child can receive. A moderate global increase in breastfeeding rates can prevent an estimated
23
24 56 823,000 child deaths and 20,000 breast cancer deaths worldwide every year (Victoria *et al* 2016).
25
26 57 However, fourteen years following the launch of the *Global Strategy for Infant and Young Child*
27
28 58 *Feeding* (WHO UNICEF 2003, 2007) two publications from the Lancet Series demonstrated that
29
30 59 the world has a long way to go in its efforts to support and protect a woman's rights to breastfeed
31
32 60 to the recommended age (Victoria *et al* 2016, Rollins *et al* 2016). Indeed, in a UK context, 34%
33
34 61 of infants are breastfed when they are born and only 1% continue to breastfeed to six months
35
36 62 (McAndrew *et al* 2012, Victoria *et al* 2016). UNICEF's (2016) '*Protecting Health and Saving*
37
38 63 *Lives: Call to Action*' highlights, that the UK, in particular, needs to tackle multifactorial
39
40 64 determinants of continued breastfeeding, such as social attitudes and values, woman's employment
41
42 65 conditions, legal and policy directives and availability of health care services. This indicates that
43
44 66 interventions need to be delivered across a variety of settings and at different stages of a woman's
45
46 67 breastfeeding journey in order to have any significant impact on enabling them to breastfeed for
47
48 68 longer.
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54 55 56 69 ***Current context of England's healthcare services to support continued breastfeeding***

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3 70 Public Health England (PHE 2016, 2018b) make a strong case for local healthcare commissioners
4
5 71 to invest in breastfeeding health services. Breastfeeding is also identified as one of the targeted
6
7 72 impact areas when delivering the national early intervention public health nursing universal service
8
9
10 73 (PHE, 2018). However, specific services for supporting continued breastfeeding vary across
11
12 74 different areas of the UK. Additionally, reports of recent government cuts to funding has resulted
13
14 75 in some ongoing breastfeeding groups in England being shut down (Institute of Health Visiting
15
16 76 2018). Instead PHE offers ongoing advice via an automated instant response service on Facebook
17
18 77 Messenger, Amazon Alexa or Google Assistant called *Start4Life Breastfeeding Friend* (PHE
19
20 78 2019a, 2019b). In some areas, health services train local mothers to become peer to peer volunteer
21
22 79 supporters which has proven successful for continued support (Ingram 2013, Thomson, Balaam
23
24 80 and Hymers 2015, Thomson *at al* 2011, Grant *et al* 2017). These services could be key in
25
26 81 supporting the continuation of breastfeeding (Renfrew 2014). However, most current interventions
27
28 82 focus on the initiation of breastfeeding rather than continuation which has much more disparity.
29
30
31 83 Therefore, for those women breastfeeding beyond one-year healthcare support is extremely
32
33 84 limited. Separate to health services and widely available across the UK is the *La Leche League*
34
35 85 (LLL, 2019); an international charity where trained volunteer leaders provide local support via
36
37 86 meetings, help forums, phone calls and social media. Additionally, the *Breastfeeding Network*
38
39 87 (2019) are another registered charity providing ongoing support across the UK with trained
40
41 88 volunteers. These services are crucial in light of the lack of healthcare. However, breastfeeding
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43 89 women may still need to access health services and need specific health care not necessarily related
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45 90 to their breastfeeding practices. We have sought to understand the experiences of breastfeeding
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47 91 women who have accessed healthcare services and engaged in alternative support networks with
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49 92 a child beyond twelve months.
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93 **Methods**

94 This realist qualitative study was approved the University of Derby's ethics committee. We
95 recruited 24 mothers (aged between 27 - 48) who were currently breastfeeding or had recent
96 experience of breastfeeding at least one child over the age of twelve months. Local face to face
97 breastfeeding groups were targeted by advertising on their social media page. To enable for the
98 majority of the interviews to be conducted face to face the sample was limited to Derbyshire. The
99 majority of the mothers interviewed were white and a higher proportion were well educated (58%
100 of the women had a post graduate degree, 21% had an undergraduate degree, 17% had been to
101 collage and 4% had left education after high school). This sample represents the largest ethnic
102 group of this area, however, it also reflects research which reports that white British mothers with
103 a higher maternal age and level of education are more likely to breastfeed for longer (Godbout *et*
104 *al* 2016, Santorelli *et al* 2013, Dyson *et al* 2010, Mangrio, Persson and Bramhagen 2017). Most of
105 the mothers had more than one child and had gone on to breastfeed subsequent children longer
106 than their first. Two mothers were tandem feeding (breastfeeding multiple children) at the time of
107 interview. The mean breastfeeding duration was 2 years.

108 After giving full, informed consent the women took part in a semi-structured interview facilitated
109 by one of us (Jessica Jackson, author one). We invited them to discuss their breastfeeding
110 journey. The interviews took place, face to face, either within the mother's home or in a private
111 room at the University. One interview took place over the telephone. There were a number of
112 interviews where the mother's child was present. To reduce the risk of bias during data collection
113 the semi-structured questionnaire was prepared objectively by validating it to a non-respondent,
114 with similar characteristics, and changes were made where appropriate. The mothers were first
115 asked about their breastfeeding experiences in the early infancy period. They were then asked to

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3 116 give specific focus to breastfeeding beyond infancy. The schedule included a list of questions in
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5 117 relation to accessing support services and support networks; significant other, wider family,
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8 118 professional, peers, online or face to face and public. Prompt questions included phrases such as:
9
10 119 *Do you have any other examples? Please could you tell me more about this?* All interviews took
11
12 120 place between April and June 2018 and lasted between 52 and 27 minutes. It was unfortunate
13
14 121 that the shortest interview was cut short because of the mother having to attend to the needs of
15
16 122 her child. We transcribed each interview verbatim after it had taken place and this enabled us to
17
18 123 systematically review the quality and volume of the data as it was collected. When data
19
20 124 saturation was reached, and no new information was being shared in the interviews, data
21
22 125 collection stopped (Fusch & Ness, 2015). All the transcribed interviews formed a data corpus
23
24 126 which we then systematically analysed using a thematic approach. This is an established
25
26 127 qualitative method which enables patterned responses which represent “something important
27
28 128 about the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2006 p. 82) to be identified. We separately used the six stages
29
30 129 of thematic analysis outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) to independently identify themes. The
31
32 130 analytic process was informed by a theoretical approach which involved a focused reading of the
33
34 131 data in order to create codes which mapped onto specific areas of interest (Boyatzis, 1998).
35
36 132 NVivo was used to collate extracts from the interviews into codes, establish their validity and
37
38 133 then group codes into themes. We then met to discuss the themes we identified, and it was noted
39
40 134 that we were largely in agreement. This gave confidence in the thematic structure and so extracts
41
42 135 which best represented themes were selected for analysis using a realist framework. This
43
44 136 approach assumes that language reflects meaning and experience (Braun & Clarke, 2006).
45
46
47 137 We recognise that researchers cannot adopt “a value free, neutral, uninvolved approach” (Mies
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49 138 1993, p. 67) and so it was important to explore what our roles had in shaping data collection and
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3 139 analysis (Toerien, 2004). We each had different roles and values that brought different
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5 140 perspectives to the research. Jessica (author one) is a nurse researcher with a background in
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7 141 public health nursing. As such we considered what Vail (2001) terms an ‘insider’ - someone
8
9 142 knowledgeable about breastfeeding. This position can lead to a loss of analytic distance as issues
10
11 143 raised during interviews could have been taken for granted by Jessica as well as the women
12
13 144 being interviewed (Lee, 2005). To help address this Jenny (author two), who is a Psychologist
14
15 145 and has not actively engaged with this community in the past, assisted with the analysis. Both
16
17 146 our own experiences of breastfeeding led us to this research area but Jenny’s lack of active
18
19 147 involvement with the breastfeeding community positioned her in what Vail (2001) terms an
20
21 148 ‘outsider’. We believed that this status enabled Jenny to approach the analysis with a level of
22
23 149 naivety which could then be comparable to Jessica’s more ‘insider’ stance.
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29 150 **Results**

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32 151 The following analysis explores the issues these women faced on their breastfeeding journey and
33
34 152 the role that alternative services played in supporting their feeding practices. More specifically,
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36 153 the analysis first attends to positive encouragement that the women received from healthcare
37
38 154 professionals and the public when they started their breastfeeding journey. Attention then turns to
39
40 155 the challenges that the women faced from medical professionals, members of the public and friends
41
42 156 and family as the women made the transition to breastfeeding an infant. Finally, the analysis
43
44 157 examines the role that specialised support groups and social media played in normalising the
45
46 158 women’s feeding choices and offering emotional support. The stigma that women faced when
47
48 159 feeding an older child and the specific role the public health nursing services had in advising the
49
50 160 women were also significant issues and are addressed elsewhere (authors, 2019).
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56 161 *Starting the breastfeeding journey*

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3 162 During pregnancy the women became well informed of the benefits of breastfeeding and they
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5 163 entered into motherhood with a desire to exclusively breastfeed. When their baby arrived a
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8 164 minority of women reported issues surrounding the support they received. However, there was a
9
10 165 consensus that midwives and health visitors went above and beyond to offer support.

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12
13 166 *They were great, they were amazing because I think when it is your first. I don't know what it was*
14
15 167 *like for you but they kept coming to visit (Claire).*

16
17
18 168 This support was central in enabling the women to establish breastfeeding and helped them work
19
20 169 through health related breastfeeding difficulties such as mastitis. During infancy the women's
21
22
23 170 breastfeeding was well received by doctors too.

24
25
26 171 *They were on about his hydration levels, and I said to them, well I am still breastfeeding him, and*
27
28 172 *the doctor did say to me, well that's amazing (Sharon).*

29
30
31 173 Here Sharon recounts a time when she sought medical advice for her son who had scarlet fever.
32
33 174 Sharon's disclosure of her breastfeeding practice in the consultation highlights some important
34
35 175 issues. First, it demonstrates that Sharon felt comfortable in sharing her breastfeeding practice and
36
37
38 176 understood that it was medically relevant. This knowledge about the medical benefits of
39
40 177 breastfeeding was shared by the other mothers. Within the interviews these benefits were linked
41
42 178 to the mother's role in protecting her child from illness and enabling them to thrive. The doctor's
43
44 179 response to Sharon's breastfeeding practice validates her knowledge and use of the word *amazing*
45
46 180 presents this practice as something that she should be proud of but also not the norm.

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50 181 Emotional support and acceptance were also experienced by the women as they fed in public.
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3 182 *I remember a really elderly guy actually, a really elderly guy who, erm, I'd been covering up and*
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5 183 *he said oh, and he walked past and went oh, he's on the good stuff, or something like that, it was*
6
7
8 184 *a really nice positive thing (Abbie).*
9

10
11 185 Encouragement from strangers, kind words and gestures went a long way in supporting the
12
13 186 women's breastfeeding practices. Many of the women reported that they were initially concerned
14
15 187 about breastfeeding in public because it involved exposing their bodies and therefore could attract
16
17 188 negative reactions or comments. This led to many of the women leaving the house prepared for
18
19 189 confrontation and armed with responses that could be used to defend breastfeeding in a public
20
21 190 space. A minority of women did have bad experiences, in which they were asked to move out of
22
23 191 view, but many were taken aback by the kindness and support offered by the public. This helped
24
25 192 to foster a sense of pride and achievement.
26
27
28

29
30 193 *I have had quite a few comments where people have come over or walked past more than come*
31
32 194 *over and said its lovely to see or it's just sort of nice to see mums feeding and all things like that.*
33
34 195 *I felt proud. (Ella).*
35
36

37 196 This section of the analysis has explored the support women received when breastfeeding an infant.
38
39 197 Positive reactions from healthcare professionals and members of the public helped the women feel
40
41 198 comfortable in their breastfeeding practice and feel good about breastfeeding their baby.
42
43 199 Therefore, practical and emotional support were key in helping women at the start of their
44
45 200 breastfeeding journey. The next section of the analysis explores changes which occurred as the
46
47 201 women continued breastfeeding.
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52 202 ***Making the transition***
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3 203 When initiating breastfeeding the women did not have a fixed end point in mind. Therefore,
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5 204 breastfeeding beyond infancy was not a conscious decision, it was something that developed
6
7
8 205 organically. As the women experienced the benefits of breastfeeding in relation to health, bonding
9
10 206 and parenting they moved towards natural term breastfeeding in which weaning was led by their
11
12 207 child. The women felt happy in their decision but as their breastfeeding continued, support
13
14 208 dwindled.

15
16
17 209 *No one can object to new-born breastfeeding because that is their only food source but I think*
18
19 210 *people feel differently when they can eat or drink other things (Amy).*

20
21
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23 211 Within the interviews there was a strong sense that a woman's right to breastfeed a baby was
24
25 212 protected and therefore unquestionable. However, once their baby reached the age of six months
26
27 213 attitudes towards breastfeeding changed and the practice was viewed as abnormal. This change
28
29 214 was strongly tied to societal expectations around weaning and based on the assumption that
30
31 215 breastfeeding only offered nutritional benefits. The women started to experience judgemental
32
33 216 glances from strangers when feeding in public and their breastfeeding practices were challenged
34
35 217 more directly by friends and family.

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39 218 *She's like, "You don't want him to be four and asking for milk," and it's just like, "Why not?" It's*
40
41 219 *like the older they get you become like a closet breasteeder' (Maggie).*

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43
44
45 220 Maggie's confidence in her practice and her ability to defend her breastfeeding practice was echoed
46
47 221 by the other women. However, the women also spoke about the strength and resilience needed to
48
49 222 feed an older child in public because of the stigma surrounding this practice. Feeding mostly took
50
51 223 place in the home, in part this was due to the role breastfeeding played in reconnecting mother and
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3 224 child at the end of the day or to help settle the child to sleep, but there was also a strong sense that
4
5 225 feeding in public was not acceptable.
6
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8 226 *A group I took James to a lot was seedlings and I think I saw maybe one child who was a bigger*
9
10 227 *child have a bit of a feed once (Emma).*
11
12

13 228 Judgement was also passed in parent and baby spaces and women rarely fed older children. This
14
15 229 led to marginalisation and the women started to feel as though they were the only ones
16
17 230 breastfeeding beyond infancy. Crucially, at a time when women were facing judgment, General
18
19 231 Practitioners (GP) and other healthcare professionals also became less supportive.
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23 232 *I suffered with vertigo at the beginning of the year and this doctor said to take these tablets you*
24
25 233 *need to stop breastfeeding and it's about time you need to stop breastfeeding anyway but I didn't*
26
27 234 *(Catherine).*
28
29
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31 235 When seeking medical help the women found that GPs were not willing to take their breastfeeding
32
33 236 practices into account when deciding the best course of treatment. Within Catherine's consultation
34
35 237 an unequal power dynamic was established in which she was simply expected to follow doctor's
36
37 238 orders and stop breastfeeding in line with medical advice. However, Catherine alongside the other
38
39 239 women interviewed were well educated in relation to breastfeeding and therefore they had the
40
41 240 confidence to continue feeding despite being told not to. The women faced similar issues when
42
43 241 visiting the GP with their sick children.
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48 242 *She had diarrhoea, and he was trying to tell me that she needed squash or water and I said well*
49
50 243 *surely she'll get the antibodies she needs from the breast milk and he said 'well, that only lasts for*
51
52 244 *the first few weeks'. Ugh. Face bomb. I didn't even bother. I was just like, I'm not, there's no,*
53
54 245 *ugh (Valerie).*
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3 246 During these interactions the GPs were seen as ill-informed and risk adverse. Consequently, the
4
5 247 women questioned their advice and competence. As evidenced above this closed lines of
6
7 248 communication as Valerie felt it was useless entering into a dialogue with a medical professional
8
9 249 who knew less than her. Other women such as Megan '*wouldn't volunteer to my GP that I was*
10
11 250 *breastfeeding*' because of the judgement and advice that would be offered. This signified a
12
13 251 growing level of mistrust between the women, their GP and other healthcare professionals which
14
15 252 had the potential to negatively impact upon healthcare.

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20 253 '*he *dentist* was like because you're going to brush her teeth then you're giving her (breast) milk,*
21
22 254 *which is sugary, and that's going to cause cavities'. And I was like, no that can't be right because*
23
24 255 *otherwise our ancestors' teeth must have fallen out'* (Zoe).

25
26
27 256 The perceived lack of knowledge, understanding and support from healthcare professionals led to
28
29 257 direct confrontation or resulted in the women remaining silent but not following medical advice
30
31 258 given in appointments because of what Megan described as a '*a lack of faith*'.

32
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34
35 259 This theme has examined the ways in which women felt more isolated and alone in their
36
37 260 breastfeeding practices as they continued in their breastfeeding journey. The final theme
38
39 261 investigates how the women used different forms of support to help them continue breastfeeding.

262 ***The importance of specialised support***

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264
265 263 Judgement and feelings of being alone led the women to seek out advice and support from
266
267 264 voluntary services such as La Leche League (2019).

268
269
270 265 *I went to La Leche League and the first or second meeting there was a lady there who was tandem*
271
272 266 *feeding and I think the old one she was feeding was 3 or 4 and I was like oh my goodness I didn't*

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2
3 267 *know that you could feed for that long and I didn't know that you could tandem feed and she was*
4
5 268 *like my hero (Gail).*

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7
8 269 La Leche League meetings offered women the space to meet up with other like-minded mothers
9
10 270 who were attuned to their breastfeeding practices. In contrast to general breastfeeding groups or
11
12 271 other parent and baby spaces older children were breastfed openly in these meetings and issues
13
14 272 such as tandem feeding were addressed. Consequently, the women were able to feel part of a
15
16 273 community and receive specialised support that was not forthcoming from public health nurses
17
18 274 and healthcare practitioners. Attending meetings also helped to address the stigma around
19
20 275 breastfeeding beyond infancy by normalising this practice.

21
22 276 *It's completely normal, completely natural, and I think having seen people feeding children that*
23
24 277 *were eighteen months, two years, it made me realise it's not weird, its completely normal. It*
25
26 278 *had a major influence (Katy).*

27
28
29 279 Meetings enabled the women to feel less marginalised. This in turn gave them more confidence
30
31 280 in their breastfeeding and offered reassurance that they were not engaging in an unhealthy
32
33 281 practice. For the women interviewed, seeing positive breastfeeding role models was an
34
35 282 empowering experience and being part of these groups enabled them to support other women in
36
37 283 their feeding practice.

38
39 284 *Elsie always asks for boob when we're there, which is fine, and I do feel it has helped two other*
40
41 285 *mums to continue breastfeeding past a year, because they have had pressure from their families*
42
43 286 *to say, 'they're getting older, maybe time to stop', but you know what, carry on, it's fine, do what*
44
45 287 *you want, it's your body (Valerie)*

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2
3 288 Valerie illustrates the supportive environment of the meeting space and the role it can play in
4
5 289 directly addressing stigma and pressure to stop feeding. As such face to face meetings served
6
7 290 several important functions from offering support, empowerment, and practical information from
8
9 291 likeminded women.

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13 292 The women also spoke about the relevance of closed groups set up on social media specifically
14
15 293 for women breastfeeding beyond infancy.

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17
18 294 *There's a really good group I'm part of, Breastfeeding Babies and Beyond, I think it is, and*
19
20 295 *they're from all over the world, and there's thousands of us and you can post anything and you'll*
21
22 296 *get a response pretty much straight away (Sarah).*

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26 297 The international membership of the support group was particularly important for the women
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28 298 interviewed. It further normalised breastfeeding beyond infancy as the women could connect
29
30 299 with other women across the world and hear about their experiences. Also, it was a way these
31
32 300 women could feel that they were not alone because there was usually someone awake and online
33
34 301 who could offer support and advice immediately. This enabled the women to access support
35
36 302 when they needed it rather than be tied to specific face to face meeting groups that may not fit in
37
38 303 with their busy schedules. Asynchronous communication and women posting images of
39
40 304 themselves breastfeeding their older children served as a useful bank of information that could be
41
42 305 accessed and scrolled through when the women needed it.

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47 306 *I like the one, the older babies, 'cos it is nice to see like the older, like the 5-year olds still being*
48
49 307 *breastfed, and they're still like completely normal functioning children (Laura).*

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51
52 308 Significantly, normalisation in the images and stories shared on the site extended to the children
53
54 309 themselves. Social stigma surrounding breastfeeding beyond infancy often centres on the

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2
3 310 practice creating an unhealthy relationship between mother and child which is psychologically
4
5 311 damaging. Images within the online groups directly countered this and offered reassurance that
6
7 312 breastfeeding beyond infancy would have no adverse or long-standing effects on the child. The
8
9
10 313 groups also extended the emotional support that they had experienced when feeding a baby.

11
12
13 314 *Sometimes just getting that wow, I'm impressed with you, 'cos you know like sometimes your*
14
15 315 *friends don't really say it like, so it's nice sometimes to get that positive like, yeah, you've done*
16
17 316 *really well to tandem feed for three years or for fifteen months or whatever (Laura).*

18
19
20 317 Positive and congratulatory comments in relation to social media posts the women made
21
22 318 reinforced their breastfeeding practices and reconceptualised it as something to be proud of
23
24 319 rather than ashamed about. This helped to maintain the motivation to continue in their practice
25
26 320 and view it as an achievement. As well as offering social support the group also served as a place
27
28 321 where the women could access practical advice and support that was not given by healthcare
29
30 322 providers.

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35 323 *Sometimes people will come out with some facts and things that I've not heard before and*
36
37 324 *they're offered like advice like we used to, at one point, with, like nipple tweaking (Zoe).*

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40 325 *People are talking about weaning, self-weaning when they're having other babies, you know,*
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42 326 *how that works and I find that really helpful and supportive (Catherine).*

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45 327 This practical advice enabled the women to address issues surrounding breastfeeding etiquette,
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47 328 fertility and feeding through pregnancy from a community of well-informed mothers who were
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49 329 able to offer empathy and draw directly upon their experience to offer useful solutions. This
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51 330 often led to the online community being viewed as experts who were able to offer better medical
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53 331 advice than doctors and other healthcare practitioners.
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3 332 *There are so many instances where they've said 'I'm having an MRI, so I can't breastfeed for this*
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5 333 *long', actually you can breastfeed after it, or 'I've got to have the dye and I can't breastfeed*
6
7 334 *afterwards' and there's no evidence to say that. So everybody gets directed to The Breastfeeding*
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9 335 *Network, which has factsheets and says 'no, you can' (Valerie)*
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13 336 The group was also seen as a space in which women could post questions about medical
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15 337 procedures and medication. The responses posted by other mothers often questioned the medical
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17 338 advice given by GPs and provided an evidence base to support the advice they offered. On the
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19 339 one hand this further fed into the mistrust between the women and healthcare providers by
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21 340 questioning healthcare providers competence. However, it also provided a knowledge base that
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23 341 could be used by the women in consultations to bring about a more equal power relationship and
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25 342 encourage healthcare providers to engage in a more open dialogue.
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30 343 **Discussion**

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33 344 These results have highlighted that for the women interviewed, finding information and support in
34
35 345 the early stages of breastfeeding was crucial but relatively easy. This reflects the current services
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37 346 which are available targeting woman during the prenatal and antenatal period due to a government
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39 347 drive to increase initiation (PHE 2016). These findings are encouraging and they point towards the
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41 348 importance of early intervention and the need for further funding in this area. However, in order
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43 349 to support breastfeeding to the age of two years and beyond, as is recommended, further support
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45 350 is needed. These women encountered different issues as their breastfeeding journey continued,
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47 351 they felt stigmatized as their breastfeeding practices were challenged and deemed inappropriate.
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49 352 This resulted in the women feeling part of a minority, forced out of public spaces or segregated
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51 353 from general mother and baby groups. Crucially, at this time they also felt unsupported by
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3 354 healthcare professionals and the advice offered by GPs and dentists was viewed as inaccurate. This
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5 355 negatively impacted upon the women and their trust in healthcare providers.
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8 356 The experiences shared by these women raises two central issues surrounding the importance of
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10 357 support and offers insight into the ways in which policy can be shaped to offer much needed
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12 358 specialized support for women who breastfeed beyond infancy. The first issue centred on peer
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14 359 support. Within the interviews the women spoke about the value of La Leche League meetings.
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16 360 These meetings offered a space in which they could see older children being fed and openly feed
17
18 361 their child without fear of judgement. This had a powerful effect in normalizing breastfeeding of
19
20 362 an older child and providing positive role models. It enabled the women to feel part of a supportive
21
22 363 community rather than a minority thus affirming the continued need and relevance of peer support
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24 364 for women who breastfeed beyond infancy (Thomson, Crossland and Dykes 2011, Thomas,
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26 365 Balaam and Hymers 2015). However, a limitation of La Leche League meetings is that they are
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28 366 held at a fixed time and place. Many of the women had returned to work and so attendance at the
29
30 367 meetings was not always possible. Returning to work is a challenging time as many women do not
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32 368 receive information about their breastfeeding options (Weber, Janson and Nolan 2011). Therefore,
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34 369 specialist support is especially needed at this time. For the women interviewed, closed groups on
35
36 370 social media offered the flexible and responsive support needed to continue with their
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38 371 breastfeeding practices. As with the La Leche League meetings the women found emotional and
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40 372 practical support in these groups. However, these groups also served another important function
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42 373 surrounding healthcare advice. At a time when the women felt judgement from their healthcare
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44 374 providers and questioned their competence their favored source of information was from
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46 375 specialized social media groups. The women were able to access medical information by being
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48 376 pointed towards useful and informative organizations such as the Breastfeeding Network. They
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3 377 were also able to access practical information concerning issues surrounding nipple tweaking that
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5 378 were unaddressed by public health nurses. On the one hand this experience was empowering for
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7 379 the women and it ensured that concerns were met. However, it also opens up the possibility for
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10 380 women to access and share unreliable sources of information or result in women failing to seek
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12 381 and access medical advice and treatment when it is needed.
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15 382 The women's reliance upon social media indicates that further research is needed in this area. It
16
17 383 has been noted that social media can positively influence health behaviors and the sharing of health
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19 384 messages (Park *et al* 2016, Kite *et al* 2016, Woolley and Peterson 2012). It can also be a means of
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22 385 increasing accessibility and availability of health information for academics and health
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24 386 professionals and provide a way of engaging with the public and patients (Moorhead *et al* 2013;
25
26 387 Ryan, 2013). As such social media could provide a useful way for healthcare providers to reach
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28 388 out to women who breastfeed beyond infancy through providing support and relevant information.
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30 389 Such exchanges could also go some way to tackling the mistrust towards healthcare practitioners
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32 390 that women can feel when breastfeeding an older child and help to develop a more positive and
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34 391 open relationship between women and healthcare providers.
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39 **Implications for practice**

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42 393 In order to re-address the imbalance of trust the women conveyed within this study, practitioners
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44 394 need to recognize their personal breastfeeding views and ensure these are not impacting on their
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46 395 advice. The advice they offer should be evidence-based and non-judgmental and therefore
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48 396 education for all healthcare practitioners in regards to natural term breastfeeding would be
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50 397 beneficial. Breastfeeding beyond infancy should be encouraged. Interventions which support
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52 398 breastfeeding mothers need to be designed to address issues that arise at all stages of a women's
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54 399 breastfeeding journey. These women require flexible and responsive spaces to obtain support and
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3 400 advice, particularly for those returning to work. Digital platforms were able to offer this and
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5 401 therefore, more investigation is needed into how these platforms can be utilized by healthcare
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7 402 practitioners as an effective means of offering specialist interventions which can enable more
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9 403 mothers to breastfeed for longer.
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13 404 **Conclusion**

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16 405 This study builds on the knowledge that interventions at a variety of levels are crucial to support
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18 406 the initiation and continuation of breastfeeding. There are a number of limitations to this study
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20 407 which affects the transferability of these findings. Recruitment was limited to Derbyshire and
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22 408 therefore limits the demographics. This sample is also typical of those who are known to be more
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24 409 successful at breastfeeding and therefore cannot consider additional needs non-white, younger
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26 410 woman breastfeeding beyond infancy may have. These mothers were also, at the time of
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28 411 recruitment, 'following' a local breastfeeding support group on social media. Therefore, this
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30 412 recruitments method would have missed participants not already affiliated to a local group or
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32 413 accessing online support. This should be considered when conducting further research within this
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34 414 subject area. However, findings presented here offer a strong case for support to be specialized
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36 415 and tailored to the different needs that emerge as a woman progresses through her breastfeeding
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38 416 journey. There needs to be more of a focus on addressing social stigma, fostering a sense of
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40 417 community and pride and also developing positive relationships with healthcare providers. A
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42 418 combination of specialized charities and online international breastfeeding groups are central to
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44 419 enabling women to find that support which is missing from their local environments. These
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46 420 spaces enabled the women to build their own trusting community of emotional and informative
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48 421 support. The mothers themselves also became passionate about supporting others, demonstrating
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50 422 the effects of peer to peer support. These findings have implications for worldwide health and
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3 423 social care and public health as well as for the UK. Professionals and academics should regularly
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5 424 engage with this community. Working together globally can tackle discrimination, promote
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8 425 normalization, and share best practices or high-quality research.
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