Narrative Paths and Negotiation of Power in Birth Stories

Maria Antoniak, Karen Levy, and David Mimno

Cornell University

Content Warning

We're about to look at medical data that discusses pregnancy and childbirth.

These stories are sometimes graphic, sad, and/or traumatic.

For the privacy of the authors, all examples have been **paraphrased**.

Birth Stories

- Detailed personal narratives of giving birth
- Shared throughout history, now very popular (but under-studied) online
- Through stories, as a community, postpartum people can
 - share information
 - o re-work trauma
 - resist surveillance
 - o re-negotiate power
 - o make sense of how their story fits into a common narrative structure

Why birth stories?

→ In the U.S., rates of pregnancy-related deaths and complications are rising but many of these are **potentially preventable.**

→ Postpartum depression affects 6-13% of people after childbirth, but it can be **prevented or mitigated** by early diagnosis and emotional support during and after pregnancy.

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Reddit Birth Stories: Post Titles

- ❖ Fiona's Birth Story: The best laid plans go awry? Long read
- ❖ Thomas Berry Birth Story (Planned C-Section w/Complications)
- ❖ Joseph Jones Birth Story (planned for natural birth, got an ER c-section)
- ❖ Emily Rose's Birth Story
- ❖ My birth story! [home, unmedicated, midwife-assisted water-birth]
- ❖ I gave birth! Here's a very long birth story for anyone interested: pitocin + epi, and a few unexpected things pp
- ❖ Damian's Homebirth Story!
- ♦ Alice's birth story. (long, didn't go as planned)
- ❖ Finally wrote my birth story. Hello to Jonathon!
- ❖ Crystal's birth story... With the funniest ending!
- ❖ DJ's birth story severe pre-e followed by early induction

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"I'll begin just by saying that this subreddit has taught me so much in preparation for my first birth. I gained a lot of insight into other people's experiences, and I loved reading all the stories, whether positive or negative. I hope that sharing my story helps someone in the same way.

"It was 1AM, April 5th. I was experiencing some light cramping and couldn't fall asleep. This was pretty normal since 39 weeks, so I wasn't worried. My husband woke up and was rubbing my back when I felt a pop. I told my husband, and he thought it was just my back cracking, but I realized that it was my water breaking. I told my husband that it looks like it's time to go to the hospital! It was 3:30AM at that point.

"We headed to the hospital and got admitted. The nurse checked me, which was extremely painful, to the point that I wanted to cry. She said that I wasn't even one centimeter dilated, which didn't surprise me because I was supposed to be induced on April 8th. They got me started on pitocin to help start contractions and moved me to the delivery room at 4:45AM..."

Research Questions

Using the stories shared in this community:

- 1. Is it possible to model this community's shared understanding of normal and outlier sequences of events and narrative patterns?
- 2. Is it possible to model this community's shared understanding of **power hierarchies**?

Reddit Birth Stories: Limitations

- Only "happy endings" with no lost pregnancies
- Skew towards **home** births and **unmedicated** births
- No explicit/verified demographic information...
- ...but the authors generally
 - o write in **English**
 - o describe experiences in the **U.S.** and **U.K.**
 - have access to Reddit

Reddit Birth Stories: Ethical Tensions

- → Research utility and reproducibility **vs** privacy
- → Author privacy vs author credit
- → Personal information vs public forum
- → Bringing attention to undervalued voices vs respecting original intent
- → Rights of author vs rights of baby

Our decisions for this dataset

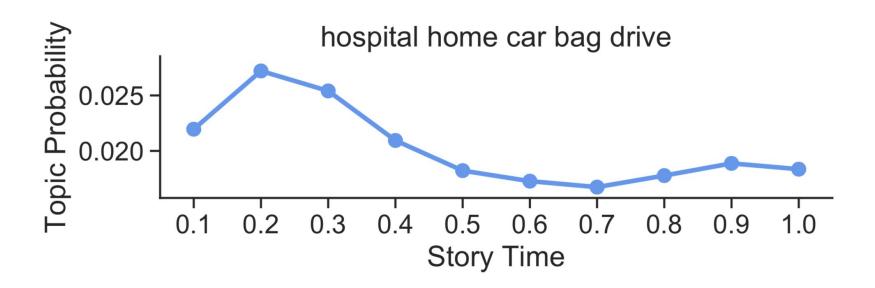
- Paraphrase all examples
- Release collection processes but do not release raw data

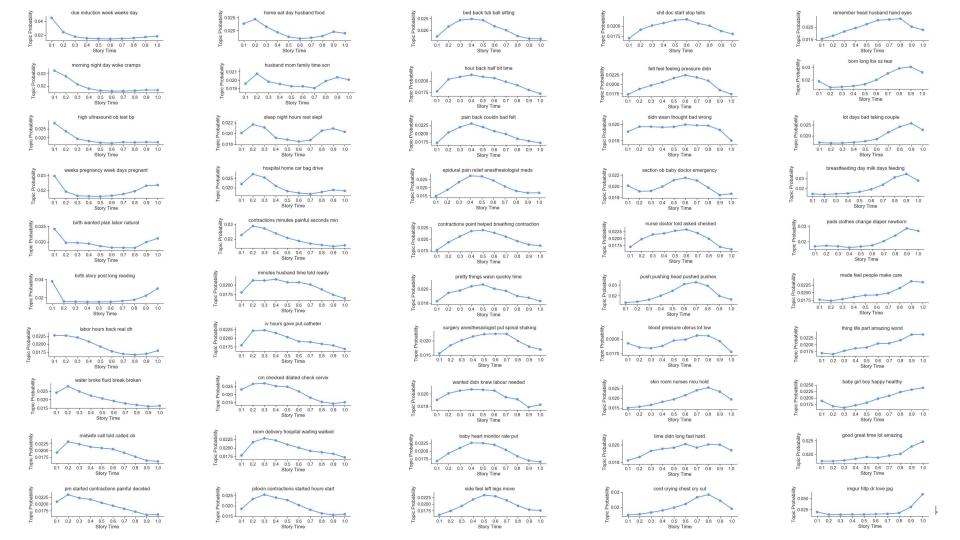
Narrative Patterns: Topics Over Time

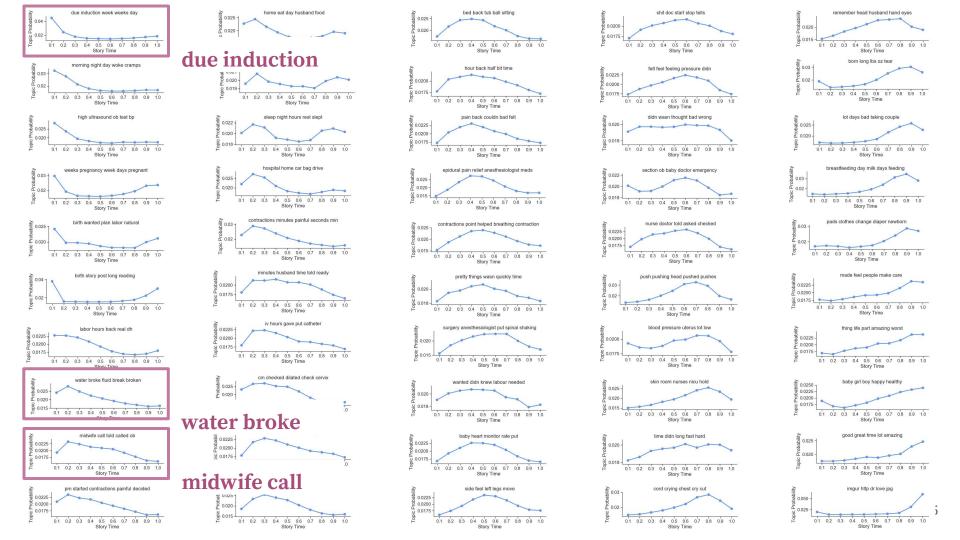
Learning Topics

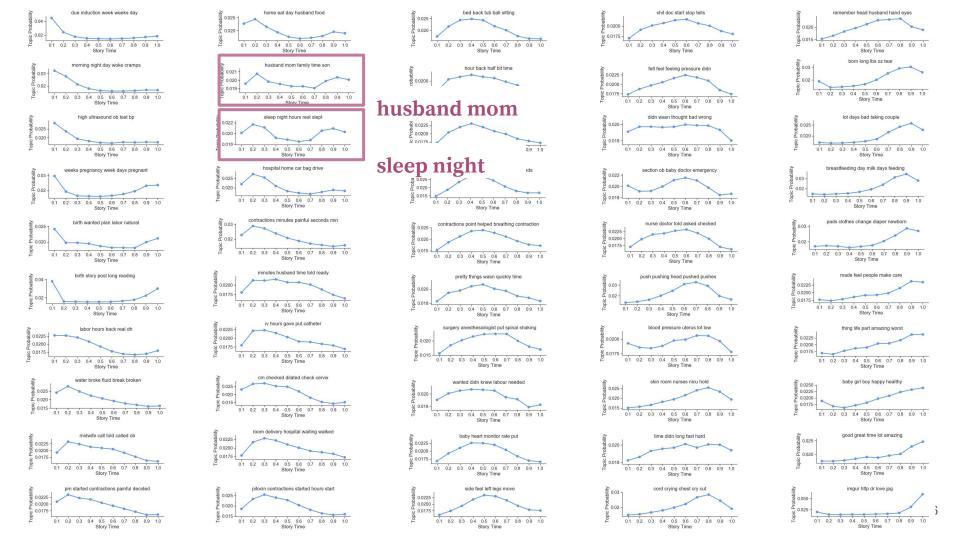
- Train a latent Dirichlet allocation (LDA) topic model on the stories
- "Topics" can be thought of as themes, discourses, or events
- Each "topic" is represented by a probability distribution over words
- Each section of text is represented by a probability distribution over topics

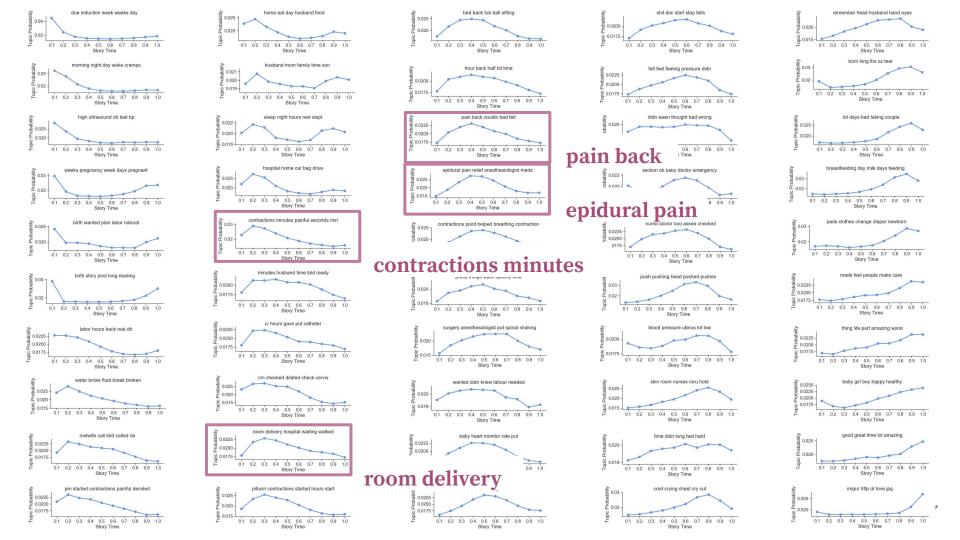
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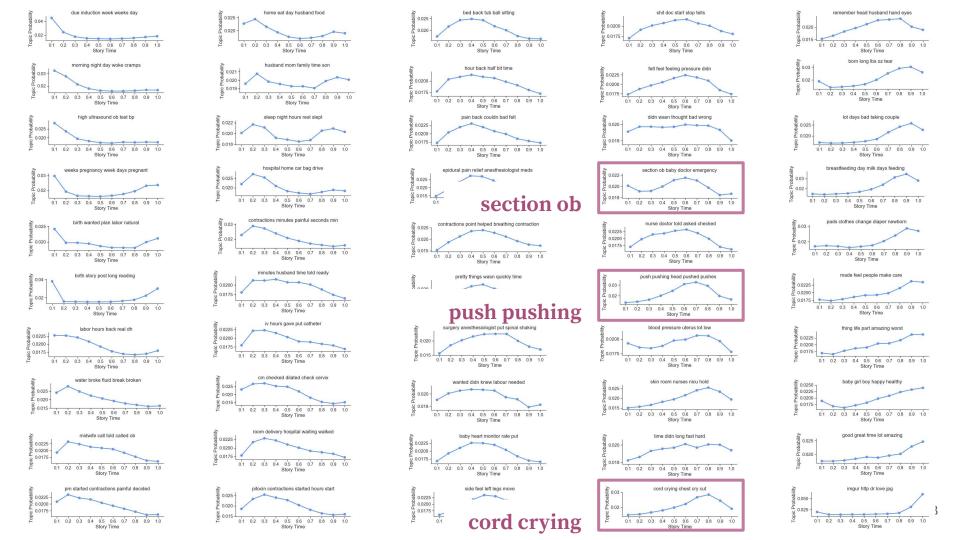


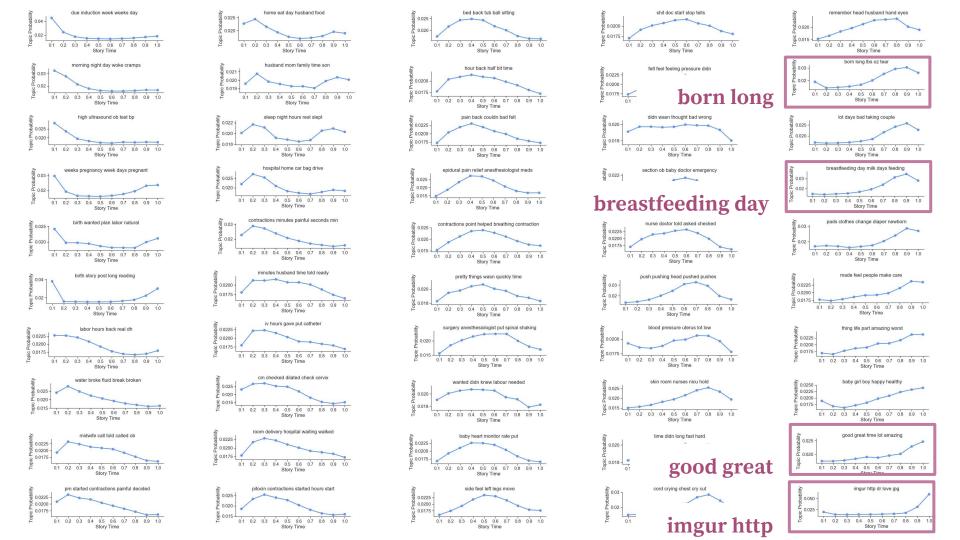












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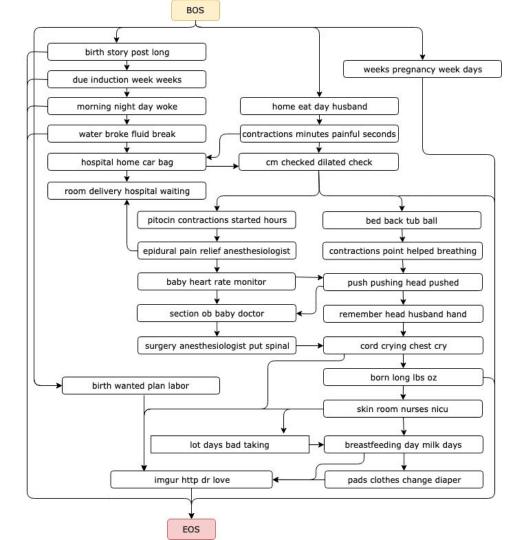
birth story post long

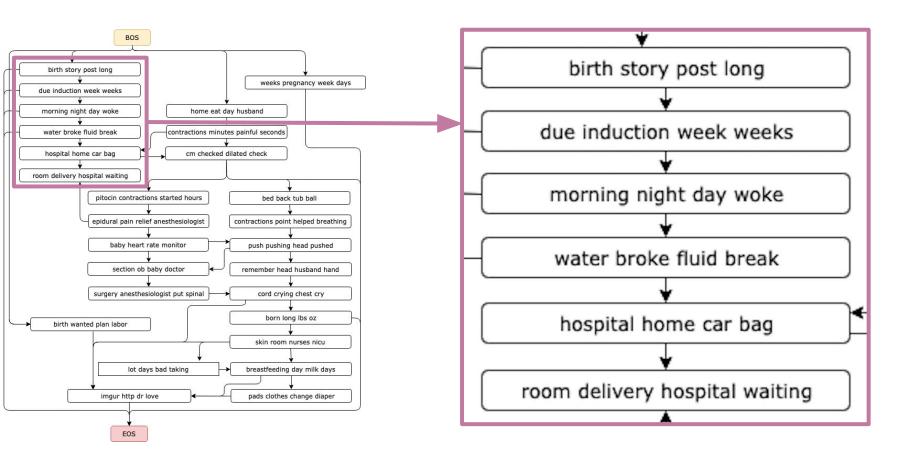


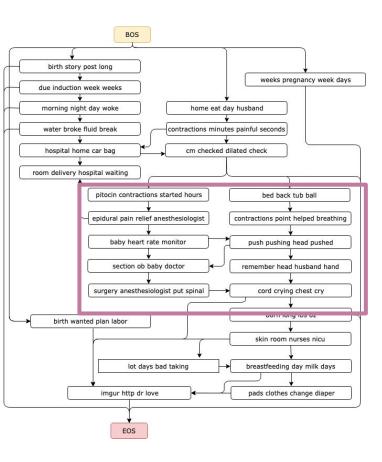
water broke fluid break

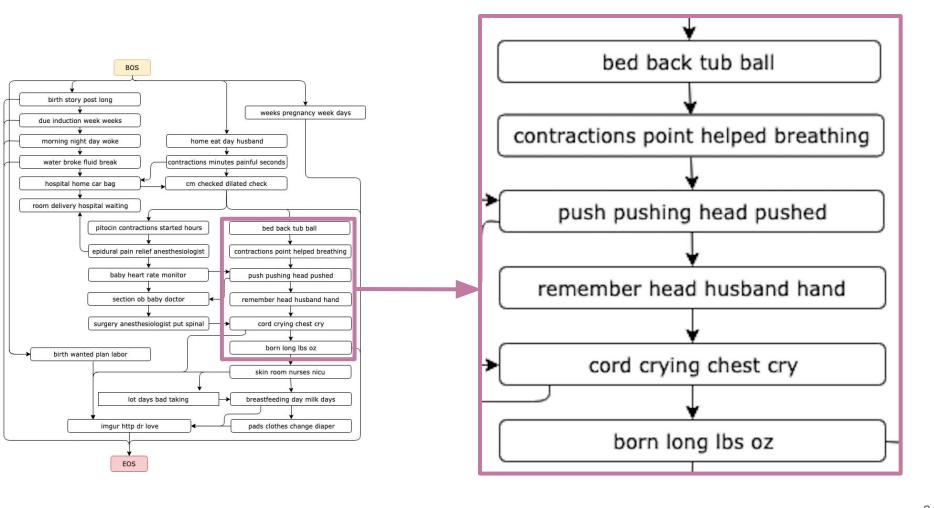


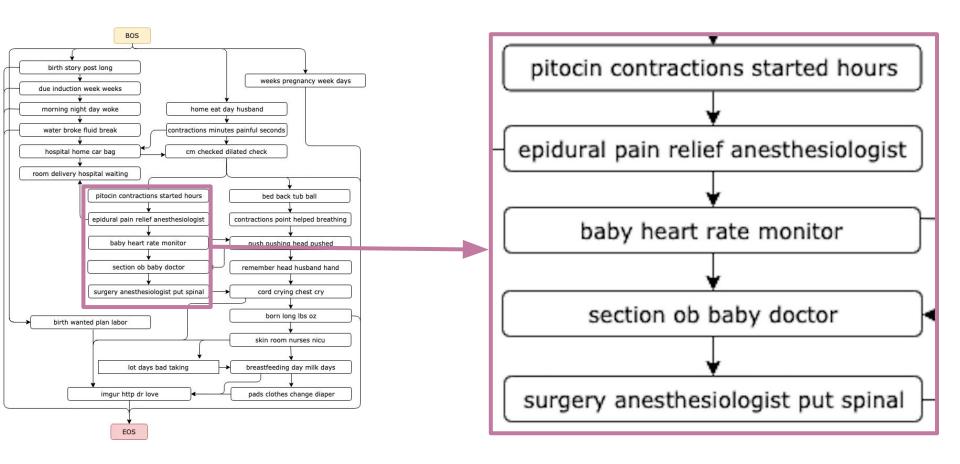
cm check dilated check











Highest		Lowest	
Probability	Bigram	Probability	Bigram
-34.15	positive induction	-35.88	post partum
-34.38	positive hospital	-35.90	unplanned c
-34.51	story ftm	-35.93	baby birth
-34.53	positive medicated	-35.99	traumatic birth
-34.63	med free	-36.02	story baby
-34.67	story long	-36.04	positive birth
-34.67	story finally	-36.09	birth story
-34.71	hospital birth	-36.14	pp advice
-34.82	story weeks	-36.15	home birth
-34.83	weeks pp	-36.18	natural birth
-34.86	hour labor	-36.19	induction epidural
-34.92	failed induction	-36.23	emergency c
-34.94	vaginal delivery	-36.30	belated birth
-34.99	story hospital	-36.41	positive unmedicated
-35.03	vaginal birth	-36.42	story plus
-35.07	baby tax	-36.43	slightly traumatic
-35.07	super positive	-36.47	c section
-35.08	super long	-36.49	happy ending
-35.22	mostly positive	-36.85	trigger warning
-35.24	late birth	-36.86	long birth
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(Dis)Empowerment

- 1) "I managed to not take pitocin, and I'm glad that I felt some of the discomfort of pushing. It was kinda empowering and I'm proud of what I did!"
- 2) "Nothing about the birth was what I expected, but I felt empowered to have had a natural birth and mostly without the assistance of my doctor!"
- 3) "The nurse wanted to monitor the baby but honestly, it really felt so empowering to say no to something. She backed down after I said that and actually was a great nurse."

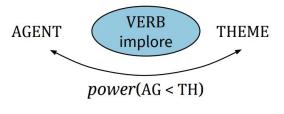
(Dis)Empowerment: Personas

Persona	Strings	Total Mentions	Stories Containing Mentions	Average Mentions per Story
Author	I, me, myself	210,795	2,846	74.0
We	we, us, ourselves	24,757	2,764	8.7
Baby	baby, son, daughter	14,309	2,668	5.0
Doctor	doctor, dr, doc, ob, obgyn, gynecologist, physician	10,025	2,262	3.5
Partner	partner, husband, wife	8,998	2,006	3.2
Nurse	nurse	7,080	2,012	2.5
Midwife	midwife	4,069	886	1.4
Family	mom, dad, mother, father, brother, sister	3,490	1,365	1.2
Anesthesiologist	anesthesiologist	1,398	876	0.5
Doula	doula	896	256	0.3

(Dis)Empowerment: Lexicon

Lexicon of verbs labeled with power and agency (Sap et al., 2017).

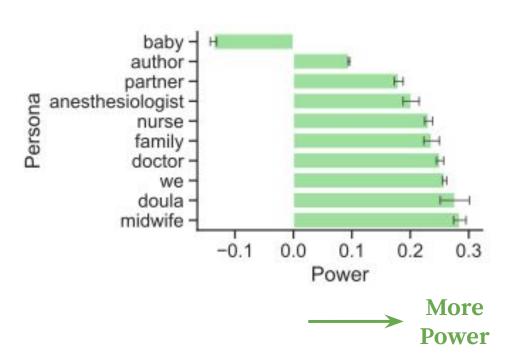
He **implored** the tribunal to show mercy.

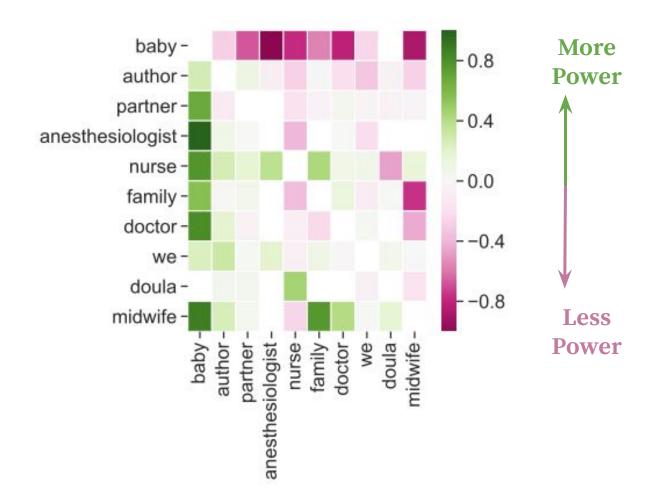


The princess waited for her prince.

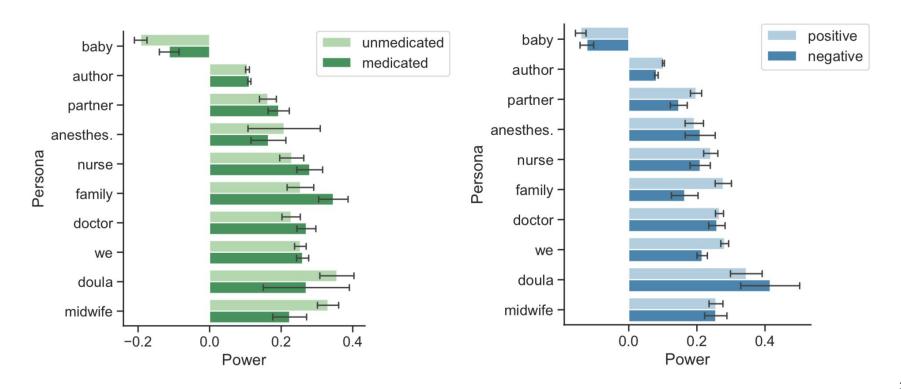


(Dis)Empowerment





(Dis)Empowerment: Narrative Framing



	Baby	
do_subj -	0.0129	
want_obj -	0.0113	kn
get_subj -	0.0110	S
start_subj -	0.0081	
drop_subj -	0.0072	р
make_subj -	0.0063	ma
turn_subj -	0.0055	Wa
show_subj -	0.0027	ke
enjoy_obj -	0.0022	dec
decide_subj -	0.0021	
give_obj -	-0.0053	
catch_obj -	-0.0057	belie
need_subj -	-0.0072	V
feed_obj -	-0.0076	lo
bring_obj -	-0.0089	h
put_obj -	-0.0113	
deliver_obj -	-0.0196	
push_obj -	-0.0240	ne
hold_obj -	-0.0306	cł
get_obj -	-0.0369	w

	Author
get_subj -	0.0404
know_subj -	0.0219
start_subj -	0.0215
do_subj -	0.0199
push_subj -	0.0123
make_subj -	0.0070
wake_subj -	0.0069
keep_subj -	0.0065
decide_subj -	0.0059
end_subj -	0.0038
get_obj -	-0.0028
believe_subj -	-0.0031
wait_subj -	-0.0034
lose_subj -	-0.0035
hear_subj -	-0.0057
call_subj -	-0.0069
ask_subj -	-0.0097
need_subj -	-0.0117
check_obj -	-0.0137
want_subj -	-0.0266

	Doctor
call_obj -	0.0760
check_subj -	0.0271
decide_subj -	0.0221
get_subj -	0.0159
do_subj -	0.0145
show_subj -	0.0116
break_subj -	0.0105
give_subj -	0.0091
start_subj -	0.0091
make_subj -	0.0088
wait_subj -	-0.0014
like_subj -	-0.0014
mention_subj -	-0.0026
reach_subj -	-0.0029
explain_subj -	-0.0036
offer_subj -	-0.0039
call_subj -	-0.0089
ask_subj -	-0.0133
get_obj -	-0.0136
want_subj -	-0.0152



Doula



1) "I had planned on a natural birth, had hired a doula, read books, all of those things. And here I was on a random Monday just going about my business when the baby decided to arrive. It took me a while to process all of it."

2) "The nurse said that if I wasn't more dilated by 12PM that she was going to start me on pitocin. I was scared about this happening, I had heard a lot about the cascading interventions that often happen in hospitals. That's why I hired a doula, so that I could have another point of view and someone to guide me so I could have this birth naturally."

Takeaways

We can use computational tools to model the shared **narrative patterns** and **power framing** in a community's set of birth stories.

We discovered sets of **diverging pathways**, found **outlier** stories labeled with terms of surprisal, trauma, and happy endings, and measured the authors framing of their own lack of **power** and surprising power of doulas.

