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#### Abstract

**Background:** Physical and emotional parent-infant closeness activate important neurobiological mechanisms involved in parenting. In a neonatal care context, most research focuses on physical (parental presence, skin-to-skin contact) aspects; insights into emotional closeness can be masked by findings that overemphasise the barriers or challenges to parenting an infant during neonatal care.

**Aim:** To explore existing qualitative research to identify what facilitates and enables parents' experiences of emotional closeness to their infants while cared for in a neonatal unit.

**Study design:** A systematic review using meta-ethnographic methods. Search strategy involved searches on six databases, author runs, and backward and forward chaining. Reciprocal translation was used to identify and compare key concepts of parent-infant emotional closeness.

**Results:** Searches identified 6,992 hits, and 34 studies from 17 countries that involved 670 parents were included. Three overarching themes and associated sub-themes were developed. 'Embodied connections' describes how emotional closeness was facilitated by reciprocal parent-infant interactions, spending time as a family, and methods for parents to feel connected while physically separated. 'Inner knowing' concerns how knowledge about infant and maternal health and understanding the norms of neonatal care facilitated emotional closeness. 'Evolving parental role' relates to how emotional closeness was intertwined with parental identities of contributing to infant health, providing direct care, and being acknowledged as a parent.

**Conclusion:** Parent-infant closeness evolves and is facilitated by multifaceted biopsychosocial factors. Practice implications include creating private and uninterrupted family time, strategies for parents to maintain an emotional connection to their infant when separated, and neurobiology education for staff.

**Keywords:** emotional closeness; neonatal care; meta-ethnography; parent-infant relationships; premature; NICU

# Introduction

Globally, more than 10% of infants require admission to neonatal units (NUs) due to prematurity or ill health [1]. Much research has focused on how parents of infants admitted to a NU experience parenthood, and the emotional impact of having a sick and/or premature infant. A scoping review into the mental health of parents of infant in the NU highights that parents, regardless of culture and country, report feelings of guilt and shame, high levels of stress, and anxiety [2]. There are numerous triggers for these negative experiences including a stressful birth experience, and fears and concerns for the infant's wellbeing [3]. Parent-infant separation and the unfamiliar neonatal environment can lead to parents feeling estranged from their infant and lacking confidence in their parental role [3].

Over the last few decades, medical and nursing care in NUs has substantially improved. Family centred care was introduced to place families at the centre of the decision-making and caregiving processes and procedures for their infants, with positive and effective collaboration between professionals and family members being at the crux [4, 5]. Previously, parents were only allowed to visit their infants on the NU for a few scheduled hours per day. Yet, while parents in many settings are now more present and involved in the care for their infant, the variations within and between countries are vast [6, 7]. The impact of design of NUs on infants' and parents' wellbeing has also received increasing attention [8]. In particular, there is a trend towards replacing open bay design units with single family room design when building or renovating NUs [9]. The single family room design has been associated with more parental presence and skin-to-skin contact, and lower rates of stress and depression symptoms in parents [10, 11]. Both physical and emotional closeness are considered essential for parent and infant health and wellbeing [12]. Physical closeness in a NU ranges from skin-to-skin contact between parentinfant, to parents being present in the unit but not in physical contact with their infant(s) [12]. Emotional closeness reflects psychological bonding [13], and ranges from strong and consistent to more distant feelings of love, care, affection and/or connection between the parent and the infant [12]. A large body of research has focused on the experiences and the barriers and facilitators for physical presence and contact within neonatal care (i.e., parental presence and skin-to-skin contact), for example [6, 7, 11]. However, there is limited knowledge on parental experiences of emotional closeness [14].

To date, a few studies have explored parent-infant closeness during the infant's admission on a NU [14-16]. One cross-national qualitative study involved parents completing an emotional closeness diary, and findings revealed that parents used multiple pathways - psychological, physical, spatial, relational, cognitive and social - that encouraged and enabled them to feel emotionally close to their infants [14]. Further insights into how emotional closeness can be facilitated in a NU are evident within a wider body of literature, such as studies focused on parents' experiences of forming relationships with their sick/premature infants [17-19], or of specific activities such as infant feeding [20, 21] or skin-to-skin/kangaroo care [22, 23]. However, these positive aspects can often be masked by overemphasising the barriers or challenges to parenting an infant during neonatal care. Aaron Antonovksy [24], a medical sociologist, coined the phrase 'salutogenesis' to argue that while a pathological focus was needed to understand the causes and impact of poor health, there needed to be greater emphasis and understanding on why and how individuals can remain in positive health, e.g., feeling emotional closeness with their infant during neonatal care. We adopted a salutogenic approach to explore the existing literature in order to develop new understandings of emotional closeness in a neonatal care context. As the experience and meanings of this phenomenon are likely best articulated in analytical concepts arising from themes or categories in qualitative or mixed-methods studies, a meta-ethnographic approach was adopted. The aim was to identify and synthesise existing qualitative-based literature to identify when, how and what situations and events enabled parents to feel emotionally close with their infants while cared for in a NU. A salutogenic perspective to uncover and illuminate how to facilitate parent-infant emotional closeness during neonatal care holds important implications for service delivery, and the potential to promote and optimize positive parent and infant health and wellbeing.

#### Methodology

#### Review methodology

A systematic review using meta-ethnographic methods to extract and analyse the findings was undertaken [25]. The meta-ethnographic approach was originally developed by Noblit and Hare [26] to synthesise the findings from ethnographic studies, but is now a widely used approach to combine and re-interpret findings from a range of qualitative methodological approaches [25]. The eMERGe Project was developed to improve the use and execution of meta-ethnographies [27] and their protocol for meta-ethnographic reporting [25] has been adhered to in the reporting of this review. The review protocol was uploaded and published in PROSPERO [28].

# Search strategy

We used the PEO (Population; Exposure; Outcomes/themes) structure to identify search terms (see Table 1). The terms were developed following a priori scoping exercise (and adapted for specific database architecture) and were agreed in conjunction with a librarian at the lead author's university. An additional search string relating to 'study type' was also used in occasions where the number of hits exceeded> 1,000. A schematic overview of the search string developed according to the PEO structure, the inclusion and exclusion criteria and additional selection criteria (date of publication, study type and language) is reported in Table 1.

Criteria	Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria	Terms
Study population	Parents of infants who had been admitted to the neonatal unit Parent = (mother, father, parent, partner [primary partner) studies of both or either Neonatal unit = NICU, SCN neonatal nursery	Parents of infants not admitted to neonatal unit Extended family	Parent* or mother* or partner* or father* or famil* or maternal or paternal
Exposure in context	Parent experience, perspective, in neonatal unit setting	Experiences, perspective in setting not a neonatal unit	"neonatal intensive" or neonatal or nursery or preterm or prematur* or "neonatal unit" or "neonatal nursery" or "special care

Table 1: Search terms and inclusion/exclusion criteria mapped to PEO framework

			nursery" or NICU
Outcomes	Data concerns 'emotional closeness' - parents' accounts of intimacy, love and affection for their infants.	Views/experiences not in relation to parent-infant emotional closeness	close*orconnect*orrelationship*oremotion*orlov*or tender*orwarmthorattach* or bond*oraffect*orintimac*or
Date	1990 to present	Prior to 1990	
Study type	Qualitative studies, mixed-methods	Purely quantitative based studies, clinical case studies, reviews, theses, opinion pieces, grey literature.	Qualitative or interview* or "focus group*" or ethnograph* or phenomenolog* or narrative* or "grounded theory"
Language	English, Italian, Swedish, Danish, French	Any other languages	

Any study that reported parents' experiences of how different care practices and/or contexts of neonatal care could influence parent-infant emotional closeness were to be included. All types of neonatal care were included, e.g., 'neonatal nursery' for infants who do not require intensive care, and Level III NUs units for those with the highest level of need. No infants (e.g., sick and/or preterm or needing monitoring) or parents (e.g., age, health, situation) were excluded, and the intention was that potential variations were to be accounted for in the analysis. We used definitions from libraries (Oxford-English online dictionary, www.en.oxforddictionaries.com) and existing literature [14] to define emotional closeness as parents' accounts of intimacy, love and affection for their infants. All qualitative studies were

to be included, i.e., exploratory descriptive, narrative, interview - thematic, case study, descriptive, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography as well as mixed-methods studies that include qualitative data. The linguistic background of the authors also allowed for the inclusion of original studies published in different languages (e.g., English, Danish, Swedish, Italian and French). In line with the justification provided in the meta-synthesis by Gibbs and colleagues [29], only studies published from 1990 onwards were to be included due to the technological changes in neonatal care, and the advent of family centred care[30].

We used a comprehensive multiple-search strategy that was conducted on six bibliographic databases: Cumulative Index of Nursing and Allied Health Literature (CINAHL), MEDLINE (Ovid), PsychArticles, Web of Science, Embase, and Global Index Medicus. These databases were chosen for their coverage of different perspectives and diverse discipline investigations on NU parents' experience (e.g., psychological, medical, nursing, educational approaches). Additional search methods involved author runs, citation tracking and reference checking.

# Study selection and appraisal

Database searches were undertaken by four members of the review team. This involved each member searching different databases and screening titles/abstracts; all potentially relevant articles were highlighted and downloaded into one EndNote file and duplicates removed. All articles were then screened by at least two members of the review team against inclusion/exclusion criteria and papers identified for full text review. All full text reviews were divided up across all members of the review team, and each paper was read in full by two reviewers. Agreements for inclusion were made by consensus, and any disagreements regarding inclusion were discussed with a third reviewer. The initial database searches were undertaken in July and August 2018, and re-run in April 2020.

All articles were quality appraised using the instrument originally developed by Walsh and Downe [31, 32]. This framework was developed based on an in-depth review of existing qualitative assessment tools, and consideration of rigour [31] and is well utilised in systematic reviews in perinatal research, for example [33-35]. The framework assesses studies against pre-defined criteria, and then a score from A to D is allocated (Table 2). Only studies that score C or higher were included in the final analysis.

Grade	Description
А	No, or few flaws. The study credibility, transferability, dependability and
	confirmability are high;
В	Some flaws, unlikely to affect the credibility, transferability, dependability
	and/or confirmability of the study;
С	Some flaws that may affect the credibility, transferability, dependability and/or
	confirmability of the study;
D	Significant flaws that are very likely to affect the credibility, transferability,
	dependability and/or confirmability of the study.

 Table 2: Scoring criteria for quality appraisal [32]

Key data were extracted into a pre-designed proforma which included study aims/research question, methodology, sample size, participant characteristics, data collection methods, key findings/themes, and the quality appraisal rating.

# Strategy for data synthesis

An inductive and interpretative meta-ethnography approach was used. This approach differentiates between first, second and third order data [25, 26]. First order relates to

participant quotes, second order are the paper authors' interpretations, and third order concerns the new interpretations generated by the review team [25, 26]. Meta-ethnography involves identifying issues and concepts at the second order level, with first order (quotes) used to substantiate the interpretations. The data is then subjected to some form of translation in generating the third order interpretations; reciprocal (identifying what was similar), refutational (identifying contradicting or disconfirming data) and a line of argument synthesis (an overarching summary of all key issues) [25, 26].

Consistent with the salutogenic approach, our review adopted a positive, strength-based perspective to understand emotional closeness. We were not concerned with contradictory data (e.g., times, events when parents do not feel emotionally close), nor were we intending to include all the experiences, challenges and negative aspects that parents can experience when their infants are in neonatal care. A reciprocal level of translation was therefore undertaken.

A common approach when undertaking a meta-ethnography is to identify an index paper that details the core issues related to the phenomenon under focus[36, 37], e.g., emotional closeness. The second order data is extracted from the index paper to develop an initial coding framework. The framework is then used to record the concepts and themes, from the remaining papers, with updates and revisions made as new insights emerge. We used the study by Flacking et al [14] to develop the coding framework and five members of the review team then extracted data from the remaining papers. Each paper was assigned to a lead reviewer (to extract the data) and a secondary reviewer (to check that all key issues had been recorded). The lead author then combined and uploaded all the codes and data extracts into MaxQDA qualitative data analysis software. Further interpretive work was then undertaken to synthesise the coded data into sub-

themes and themes that represented the whole data set. The final themes and sub-themes were reviewed, refined and agreed by all authors.

#### Findings

In the initial search 5,147 hits were retrieved from the database searches, and a further 1,775 during the updated searches. Eight papers were also identified via additional search methods. Four hundred and 28 articles were screened against inclusion/exclusion criteria, 115 were reviewed as full-texts and 34 included in the final review (see PRISMA, Figure 1).

The study characteristics and quality appraisal grade of the included studies are reported in Table 3. Overall these studies represent the views of 670 parents (467 mothers, 180 fathers and one study stating 23 parents); 17 studies focused on mothers, seven on fathers, and ten included both. Parental age ranged from 16- 46 years for mothers and 18-59 years for fathers, with most studies including a mix of parities. Twenty-seven studies were undertaken in high-income countries (USA (n=8), Sweden (n=4), Canada (n=3), Australia (n=2), Norway (n=1), Taiwan (n=1), UK (n=1), France (n=1), Denmark (n=1), Finland (n=1), Spain (n=1), Italy (n=1); six in upper-middle countries (South Africa (n=2), Thailand (n=1), Colombia (n=2), Iran (n=1), and one in a low income setting (Malawi). Three studies were undertaken in a neonatal nursery, and 25 in units that provided more acute and intensive care (6 unspecified). The age of the infant (where known) at the time of data collection ranged from 1 day to 5 years, and gestational age at birth varied from 24 to >37 weeks. Most studies were undertaken after 2010 (n=23) and employed different methodological designs, e.g., qualitative descriptive, phenomenology, grounded theory. While most involved some form of interview, additional methods such as audio-recorded parent diaries, observations of parents in the NU,

and field notes were also used. Thirteen studies were focused on parents' views of infant feeding (n=3), skin-to-skin/kangaroo care (n=7) or a specific intervention (e.g., NIDCAP or singing, n=3), and the remainder (n=21) concerned with more general parental accounts of having a premature/sick infant cared for in a neonatal unit.





Included



Author	Aim	Country	Study design	Age of	Infants' GA	Sample	Parent	Data collection	Data analysis	QA
Year		Type of unit		infant when	at birth		characteristics	methods	methods	GRADE <sup>1</sup>
		single/multi-centre		parent			(age/parity)			
				participating						
				in the study						
Kavanaugh	Examine	USA	Naturalistic inquiry	After	28w-37w	20 mothers	Mean age 31.5	Semi-	Within and	B+/C
et al	rewards and	NICU level III		discharge	Mean 32w4d		yrs; parity	structured	cross case	
1997[38]	efforts of	single centre		(1m)			unspecified	interviews	analysis of	
	breastfeeding								codes	
	for mothers of									
	preterm infants.									
Neu	Explore	USA	Naturalistic inquiry	Combination	Mean 27.2w	8 mothers	21-37y ; 4 first	Interview,	Thematic	C-
1999[39]	parents'	NICU level II/III		in hospital	±2w	1 father	time parents	Video	analysis	
	perception of	single centre		and after				observation,		
	and decisive			discharge				Field notes		
	factors of			(4-17m)						
	engaging into									
	skin-to-skin									
	care with									
	preterm infant									
	while on									

Table 3: Study characteristics and quality appraisal rating for all included studies (n=34)

	assisted									
	ventilation									
Lupton &	How do NICU	Australia	Unspecified	In hospital	24w >37w	31 mothers	10 /1 years	In depth	Unspecified	A/B
	now do Nieo	Australia	Unspecified	in nospital	24w-237w	51 moulers	19-41 years	in-depin	onspecified -	A/D+
Fenwick	mothers	NICU unspecified	qualitative	(3-14w)		20 nurses	(mean 28.2);	interviews,	recurring	
2001[40]	practice	multi-centre					21 primips	recorded dyad	patterns in the	
	motherhood and							(mother/nurse)	discourse	
	construct							observations,		
	themselves as							field notes		
	mothers?									
Roller	Understand	USA	Transcendental	After	32w-37w	10 mothers	Age unspecified	Semi-	Thematic	B+
2005[41]	mothers'	NICU unspecified	phenomenology	discharge			(4 teenagers);	structured	content	
	experiences of	single centre		(1-4w)			9 primips	interviews	analysis	
	providing KMC									
	for their									
	preterm infant.									
Johnson	Describe	USA	Qualitative	In hospital	Mean GA	18 mothers	Mean age 26.3y;	Interviews,	Content	B/B-
2007[23]	maternal	NICU level III	naturalistic inquiry	(2w after	28w 6d		All primips	observations,	analysis	
	experience with	single centre		birth)				field notes		
	КМС									

	of premature									
	infants in NICU									
				~				~ .		
Lundqvist et	Describe	Sweden	Hermeneutic	Combination	25w-32w	13 fathers	27-45y; 8 first	Semi-	Thematic	A/B
al	fathers' lived	NICU level II	phenomenoloy	in hospital			time fathers	structured	analysis	
2007[42]	experience of	single centre		and after				interviews		
	caring for their			discharge						
	preterm infant.			(1-3m after						
				birth)						
Orapiriyakul	Describe the	Thailand	Grounded theory	In hospital	26w-33w	15 mothers	age 16-41 y; 5	Semi-	Constant	B/C
et al	development of	NICU level III		(2-33d)			primips	structured	comparative	
2007[43]	maternal	multicentre						interviews,	analysis	
	attachment to							video		
	their preterm							observations		
	infant while in									
	NICU.									
Fegran et al	Obtain	Norway	Descriptive with a	around	28w-32w	6 mothers	Mothers age 26-	Semi-	Kvale's (1996)	B/B+
2008[44]	knowledge of	NICU unspecified	hermenutic	discharge		6 fathers	42y; 2 primips	structured	contexts of	
	and compare	single centre	approach	(3d-14w)			Fathers age 27-	interviews	interpreting	
	parents'						59y.		qualitative	
	individual								data.	
	experiences of									
	the attachment									
	process									

ſ		immediately									
		after a									
		premature birth.									
	Fenwick et	Understand	Australia	Grounded theory	Combination	Unspecified	28 mothers	Mean age 28.2y;	Semi-	Constant	A/B
	al	how women	neonatal nursery		in hospital		20 staff	parity	structured	comparative	
	2008[19]	begin their roles	multi-centre		and after			unspecified.	interviews,	method	
		as mothers			discharge				observations		
		when their			(8-12w)				field notes.		
		infant is in the									
		neonatal									
		nursery.									
-	Leonard &	Describe the	South Africa	Phenomenology	Combination	< 37w	4 mothers	Unspecified	In-depth	Adapted	С
	Mayers	lived	neonatal nursery		, 5 in		2 fathers		interviews	thematic	
	2008[22]	experience of	single centre		hospital/ 1					approach	
		KMC with			after						
		preterm infant			discharge						
		* · ·			(all 1w after						
					birth)						
					onui)						

Chang Lee	Examine	Taiwan	Grounded theory	In hospital	25w-34w	26 mothers	22-36 y; 9	In-depth	Constant	B+/B
et al	parenting	NICU level II/III		(unspecified)	mean=28w2		primips	interviews,	comparative	
2009[45]	experiences of	single centre			d			observations	method	
	mothers during									
	hospitalisation									
	of VLBW									
	preterm infants									
	under Chinese									
	custom of one									
	month maternal									
	rest.									
Blomqvist et	Describe	Sweden	Qualitative	After	29w3d-33w	7 fathers	25-36y;	Semi-	Qualitative	A+/B
al	father's	NICU level III	descriptive	discharge	3d		all first time	structured	content	
2012[46]	experiences	multi-centre		(4 m			father	interviews	analysis	
	with KMC of			corrected						
	their preterm			age)						
	infants.									
Arnold et al	Explore parents'	England	Qualitative study	Combination	24w-32w	32 mothers	Age 25-44 yrs;	Semi-	Inductive	B+/C+
2013[47]	initial	NICU level III		in hospital or	(mean	7 fathers	75% primips	structured	systematic	
	experiences of	multi-centre		after	$29w2d \pm$			interviews	thematic	
	the birth of their			discharge	2w)				analysis	
	very preterm			(44-344 days						
	baby and their			- mean 154						
				days)						
	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

	stay in the									
	NICU.									
Guillaume et	Explore parents'	France	Discourse analysis	In hospital	Mean 27w	30 mothers	Mothers age	Semi-	Horizontal and	A/B
al	early bonding	NICU level III		$(24 \text{ d} \pm 10 \text{ d})$	±2w	30 fathers	$30,7y \pm 6,6;$	structured	vertical	
2013[18]	with their very	multi-centre		after birth)			Fathers age 33,5y	interviews	(discourse)	
	preterm infant,						± 6,8;		analysis	
	and parent's						parity			
	expectations of						unspecified			
	the caregivers.									
Rossman et	Describe the	USA	Qualitative	In hospital	23w-33w	23 mothers	age 19-37y	In-depth	Inductive	B+/C
al	meaning of	NICU level III	descriptive	(4-8w after	mean 26w6d		(mean 26y);	interviews,	content	
2013[48]	milk for	single centre		birth)			78% primips	observations,	analysis	
	mothers of							field notes		
	VLBW									
	(<1500g)									
	infants in the									
	NICU									
Flacking &	Explore the	Sweden/England	Ethnography	In hospital	25w-35w	52 mothers	Mothers age 22-	Interviews,	Grounded	A/B
Dykes	impact of place	NICU level II/III		(unspecified)		19 fathers	45y; 30 primips	observations,	theory	
2013[49]	and space on	multi-centre				102 staff	Fathers age 23-	field notes		
	parents'						47y			

	experiences and practices related									
	preterm babies									
	in NICUs.									
Ettenberger	To extend the	Colombia	Three-arm mixed	In hospital	30-37w	18 mothers	Intervention arms	Ouestionnaires	Thematic	В
et al	existing	NICU level III	methods pilot	(unspecified)			– mean 23.1y		analysis	
2014[50]	knowledge	single centre	study				and 26v. control		,	
	about music						arm 22.5v			
	therapy in the						11 primips			
	NICU and to						I I			
	provide new									
	insights by									
	using live									
	music									
Tarus &	To understand	Johannesberg	Phenomenology	Unspecified	Unspecified	9 mothers	18-38y; 3	Unstructured	Colazzi's	С
Tjale	the mothers	Single site KMC					primips	interviews	method	
2015[51]	lived	ward								
	experience and									
	perception									
	towards 24-									
	hour Kangaroo									
	Mother Care									
	(KMC) during									

	hospitalization									
	of their preterm									
	babies									
Flacking et	Explore parents'	Sweden, England,	Qualitative	In hospital	Unspecified	23 parents	Unspecified	Emotional	Thematic	A/B
al	feelings of	Finland		(unspecified)				closeness diary	network	
2016[14]	emotional	NICU level II/III							analysis	
	closeness when	multi-centre								
	infant in NICU									
Martel et al	Describe the	Canada	Grounded theory	In hospital	32w-36w6d	12 fathers	18-35+y; 8 first	Semi-	Strauss and	B/C
2016[17]	establishment	neonatal nursery		(unspecified)	Mean 34w2d		time	structured	Corbin's open,	
	of the father-	single centre						interviews,	axial, and	
	premature							daily journal	selective	
	infant								coding.	
	relationship									
	in a neonatal									
	unit									
Nelson &	Describe	USA	Phenomenology	Around	24w-29w	7 mothers	25-32v: 4	Semi-	Colaizzi's	A/B+
Bedford	essential	NICU level III		discharge			primips	structured	method	
2016[52]	alamants of	single centre		(1 wook			prinipo	intomious	method	
2010[32]	elements of	single centre		(1 week				Interviews		
	mothering a			before or						
	preterm infant			after)						
	receiving									

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·										
	NIDCAP care									
	in a NICU									
Phuma-	Investigate	Malawi	Qualitative	Unspecified	Unspecified	10 mothers	Unspecified	In-depth	Content	С
Ngaiyaye et	strategies for	NICU unspecified	exploratory			5 midwives		interviews	analysis	
al 2016[53]	supporting	single centre								
	maternal									
	newborn									
	bonding.									
Olsson et al	Describe	Sweden	Qualitative	In hospital	25w-35w3d	20 fathers	23-45y, median	Semi-	Directed	B/B+
2017[54]	fathers'	NICU unspecified	descriptive	(2-74d after			32;	structured	qualitative	
	experience	multi-centre		birth)			14/20 first time	interviews	content	
	providing SSC						fathers		analysis	
	with their									
	premature									
	infant									
Maastrup et	Explore parent's	Denmark	Qualitative	In hospital	23w6d-27w	11 mothers	Unspecified	Semi-	Thematic	A/B-
al	readiness for	NICU level IV	descriptive	(25w6d-		5 fathers		structured	analysis	
2017[55]	SSC, and the	single centre		27w6d)				interviews		
	overall meaning									
	of SSC for									
	parents in									
	extreme									

	preterms below									
	28w GA.									
Treherne et	Describe	Canada	Qualitative	In hospital	24w-33w3d	13 mothers	Fathers mean age	Voice recorded	Qualitative	A/B+
al	parent's	NICU level III	descriptive	(8-94d)		7 fathers	37.3y,	via HAPPY	content	
2017[15]	perceptions of	single centre					mothers mean	App	analysis	
	closeness and						age 32.2y;			
	separation with						65% first time			
	preterms in						parent			
	NICU									
Bujold et al	Explore if and	Canada	Descriptive	In hospital	23w-32w	15 mothers	26-44y (mean	Voice recorded	Thematic	A/B
2018[20]	how mothers	NICU level III	qualitative cross-	(avg 37d (5-			32y); 10 primips	via HAPPY	content	
	with infants in	single centre	sectional study	94d) after				App	analysis	
	the NICU,			birth)						
	perceive									
	expressing									
	human milk as									
	a closeness or									
	separation									
	experience.									

Ettenberger	Measure the	Colombia	Mixed-methods	In hospital	28w-34w	15 mothers	14-36y; 8 primps	Questionnaires	Thematic	В
et al	impact of song	NICU level III		(1-6 days	(mean			semi-	analysis	
2018[56]	writing on	single centre		after birth)	31w2d)			structured		
	bonding, mental							interviews		
	wellbeing,									
	anxiety levels									
	and depressive									
	symptoms in									
	mothers of									
	preterm babies									
	in NICU.									
Jabraeili et	Explore	Iran	Ethnography	In hospital	12 term	19 mothers	14-33y; parity	Observations,	Roper and	A/B-
al	maternal	NICU level II		(unspecified)	infants and 7		unspecified	interviews	Shapira's	
2018[57]	emotional	single centre			preterm				(2000) coding	
	caregiving				infants				framework.	
	experiences in a									
	neonatal unit.									
Logan &	Study	USA	Phenomenology	In hospital	25w-27w	7 fathers	25-46 yrs;	Structured	Gadamerian	A/B
Dormire	experiences and	NICU level III		(2weeks-			parity	interviews,	hermeneutic	
2018[58]	stressors of	multi-centre		3months)			unspecified	field notes	method	
	fathers of pre-									
	terms less than									
	28 weeks									
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

	during NICU									
	stay									
Makela et al	Identify and	Finland	Qualitative	In hospital	26w-41w	18 mothers	Mothers age 27-	Voice recorded	Inductive	A/B
2018[16]	understand how	NICU level III	descriptive	(median 8d	mean 32w3d	5 fathers	38y	via HAPPY	thematic	
	parents develop	single centre		after birth)			Fathers age 27-	Арр	analysis	
	a close bond to						42 y;			
	their infants in						11 primips			
	the NICU									
Medina et al	Explore the	Spain	Phenomenology	In hospital	24w5d-	16 mothers	27-45y (mean	Focus groups	Gadamerian	A/B
2018[59]	bonding process	NICU level III		(at least 30d	27w1d		age $34.4y \pm SD$	or interviews	hermeneutic	
	of mothers	single centre		after birth)			4,6y);		method	
	having						parity			
	extremely						unspecified.			
	preterm infants									
	admitted in									
	NICU.									
Noren et al	Describe	Sweden	Qualitative	After	28w-33w6d	13 mothers	25-42 years;	Semi-	Qualitative	B/C
2018[60]	Swedish	NICU level III	descriptive	discharge			8 primips	structured	content	
	mothers'	Multi-centre		(4m				interviews	analysis	
	experiences of			corrected						
	KMC.			age)						

Stefana et al	Explore fathers'	Italy	Mixed-methods	In hospital	23w <sup>4d</sup> -33w <sup>5d</sup>	20 fathers	mean age 39,4y;	Semi-	Investigator	B/B+
2018[61]	emotional	NICU level III		(unspecified)			70% first time	structured	triangulation	
	experiences	single centre					father	interviews,	approach/	
	with the birth							observation,	thematic	
	and NICU stay							questionnaire	content	
	of their preterm								analysis	
	babies and to									
	try to identify									
	father profiles.									
Hearn et al	Describe	USA	Grounded theory	After	Unspecified	19 fathers	Age 28-57yrs	Semi-	Thematic	В
2019[62]	fathers'	NICU unspecified		discharge			(mean 38.1y)	structured	analysis	
	involvement,	single centre		(4-5y)				interviews		
	confidence and									
	beliefs of their									
	preterm infants.									

Abbreviations: GA - gestational age; QA - quality appraisal; KMC - Kangaroo mother care; SSC - skin-to-skin care; VLBW - very low birth weight; NIDCAP - neonatal individualized developmental care and assessment program

<sup>1</sup>Variations in grades reflect different reviewer opinions

The initial coding frame comprised 15 codes, with a further 26 codes added by the reviewers during the data extraction process. Further synthesis led to three core interlinking themes and associated sub-themes being identified (see Table 4 for themes/subthemes data mapped to the individual studies).

Themes	Embodied Connections		ions	Inner K	Lnowing	Evolving Parental Role			
Subthemes	Inner recognition	Bonding as a	Retaining	Reassurance of	Understanding	Contributing to	Caring and	Acknowledged	
	and reciprocal	family	presence in	health	the process and	wellness	advocating for	as a parent	
	relating		absence		expectations		infant's needs		
Kavanaugh et	Х					Х			
al 1997[38]									
Neu 1999[39]	Х				Х	Х		Х	
Lupton &	Х		Х		Х	Х	Х	Х	
Fenwick									
2001[40]									
Roller	Х			Х	Х	Х			
2005[41]									
Johnson	Х	Х			Х		Х	Х	
2007[23]									
Leonard &	Х				Х	Х		Х	
Mayers									
2008[22]									
Lundqvist et al	Х	Х		Х	Х		Х	Х	
2007[42]									
Orapiriyakul et	Х			Х	Х				
al 2007[43]									
Fegran et al	Х	Х		Х	Х		Х		
2008[44]									
Fenwick et al	Х			Х	Х		Х	Х	
2008[19]									

 Table 4: Themes/subthemes linked to individual studies

Chang Lee et			Х	Х	Х	Х		
al 2009[45]								
Blomqvist et al	Х						Х	
2012[46]								
Arnold et al	Х				Х			
2013[47]								
Guillaume et al	Х	Х	X	Х	Х			
2013[18]								
Rossman et al	Х					Х		
2013[48]								
Flacking &	Х	Х			Х			Х
Dykes								
2013[49]								
Ettenberger et	Х					Х	Х	
al 2014[50]								
Tarus & Tjale	Х					Х	Х	Х
2015[51]								
Martel et al	Х	Х		Х				Х
2016[17]								
Nelson &		Х	Х		Х		Х	Х
Bedford								
2016[52]								
Phuma-	Х			Х				
Ngaiyaye et al								
2016[53]								
Olsson et al	Х	Х			Х	Х		Х
2017[54]								
Flacking et al	Х	Х		Х	Х	Х	Х	
2017[14]								
Maastrup et al	Х				Х	Х		Х
2017[55]								
Treherne et al	Х	Х			Х	Х	Х	Х
2017[15]								
Bujold et al		Х				Х		
2018[20]								
Ettenberger et						V	37	
	X					Х	Х	
al 2018[56]	X					Χ	X	

Jabraeili et al	Х			Х	Х	Х	Х
2018[57]							
Logan &	X	Х				Х	
Dormire							
2018[58]							
Makela et al	Х	Х	Х		Х	Х	
2018[16]							
Medina et al	Х				Х	Х	
2018[59]							
Noren et al	Х				Х	Х	Х
2018[60]							
Stefana et al	Х		Х				
2018[61]							
Hearn et al	Х						Х
2019[62]							

#### **Embodied connections**

The theme of 'embodied connections' concerns physical and embodied aspects of how parents formed emotional connections to their infants. Three sub-themes describe how parent-infant closeness was developed via a sense of embodied knowing and reciprocal actions (*'inner recognition and reciprocal relating'*), spending time as a family unit (*'bonding as a family'*), and how the use of strategies and artefacts enabled parents to feel connected while separated (*'retaining presence in absence'*).

# Inner recognition and reciprocal relating

Physical contact such as touching, holding, smelling, skin-to-skin/kangaroo care, or infant feeding was perceived as essential for parents to feel love and attachment towards their infants [14-19, 22, 23, 38, 40, 42-44, 46-49, 51, 55-62]; it provided a sense of *'realness'* that the infant was theirs [14]. Mothers in Orapiriyakul et al's [43] study considered the effects to be cumulative, with increased contacts equated to 'greater' attachment. Whereas in Arnold et al's

[47] study, half of the parents felt '*immediately bonded*' when they first touched their infants. Studies that explored parents experiences of skin-to-skin/kangaroo care considered that this method of parent contact, rather than more distal means, e.g., holding, touching was the catalyst for a meaningful parent-infant connection [39-41, 54, 55]. A mother in Maastrup et al's study [55] reported how skin-to-skin contact enabled her to feel '*she has become my daughter*' [M13], p.6. Similarly, fathers in Martel et al's study were reported to have experienced skinto-skin/kangaroo care as a '*positive emotional awakening*' [17] p.6.

Infant's frailty and an intrinsic desire to protect their infant was reported to be a key motivator for increased physical contacts in five studies [14, 17, 44, 47, 55]. Some parents perceived touch to be an important means to transmit love to their infants [17, 40, 53]. However, there was also evidence of reciprocity, with infant responses to physical contacts serving to encourage further contact and to strengthen parent-infant emotional closeness. Other parents referred to how they felt emotionally close when their infant(s) recognised and responded to them through eye contact or gestures [14-17, 19, 23, 41, 43, 50, 51, 53, 56, 59]; *'my baby gets to know me better because I am next to her'* (p.203)[51]. This could include the infant turning towards their parent, as *'he recognises you by your voice or by smell'* [59] p.328, or squeezing their parent's fingers [16, 17]. One mother from Rollers [41] study exploring experiences of kangaroo care reported:

I think she's knowing me, she's feeling me, and you know, I think she can just tell the difference by my being so attached... I just think she knows I'm her mother. (p.214)

### Bonding as a family

An emotional connection with infants was stimulated via parent-to-parent/family interactions. For instance, mothers reported how positive affirmation and encouragement from their partners encouraged caretaking activities [18] and expressing breastmilk [20], and these activities were reported to facilitate a mother-infant connection and to help women develop a maternal role. One of the English mothers from Flacking et al's cross-cultural study reported:

I cleaned him and changed him more confidently 2<sup>nd</sup> time. I did it while his father watched and I felt so, so, proud and for the first time maybe like a mum. My partner was very impressed with me!!!" (EM2, p.5)[14].

Similar views were expressed by fathers, where, for example, they described how their involvement in skin-to-skin, whilst perhaps due to encouragement and affirmation from their partners, was key to them forging an emotional connection with their infants [44]. Fathers in studies undertaken in Sweden, USA and Canada also emphasised how observing mothers interacting and bonding with their infants [17, 42, 58] was an essential factor for them to develop their own emotional connection with their infant(s): *'I really wanted her to have a closer connection with my son than I did'* [58] p. 158.

Parent-infant emotional connections were also formed through parents being able to spend uninterrupted private time together as a family [14-16, 23, 49, 52]. In some contexts, this could be facilitated by single room designs [14, 49]. For other parents, this space was created through moving furniture and use of privacy screens to enable them to have *'time alone with my little boy'* [23](p. 571), or when the neonatal unit was quiet [15]. Opportunities for family involvement with caregiving practices such as older children being in skin-to-skin contacte with their sibling, or being present when mothers' were expressing breastmilk were associated with positive impacts on familial relationships and wellbeing [20, 54].

#### Retaining presence in absence

There were various strategies used by parents to retain a sense of emotional connection with their infant when they were absent from the NICU. For instance, some parents would leave an item of perceived personal value with the infant such as a photo, toy, clothing, pacifier, or fabric with the parent's scent [18, 52, 63]. In Chang Lee et al's study [45] several mothers made audiotapes for nurses to play to their infants in their absence - one reported:

I made tapes when I missed him ... I wanted him to get to know my voice and me. I talked to him on the audiotape... It made me feel that I was with him. [M17, p.33]

Other examples related to mothers seeking information remotely, such as through regular (morning and evening) telephone calls to the NU [18], which helped parents to feel a greater sense of connection [40], and in one study [18] to facilitate breastmilk expression:

It's very good to have news by telephone....it takes 15 seconds but afterwards, you feel so much better....then pffff! I pump my milk and I fill the bottle' (m7, p.6)

Mothers in Taiwan have a lying-in period (one month) post-birth [45] and do not leave the house; this cultural practice meant they were unable to visit their infants in the NU in the early period post-birth. These mothers explained that partners and wider family members were key to providing news of their infant and were invaluable source of support to enable them to feel

more emotionally connected with the baby [45].

#### **Inner knowing**

The theme of 'inner knowing' concerns cognitive, knowing facets of closeness. Two subthemes describe how emotional closeness was facilitated through knowledge about the infant's and mother's health ('reassurance of health') and an understanding of the processes and norms of neonatal care ('understanding the process and expectations').[10]

# **Reassurance** of health

Parents' feelings of emotional closeness to their infant was inextricably linked to their infant's health status; positive signs of infant growth and development encouraged and enabled parents to feel emotionally connected to their infant. Reassurance of infant health could be achieved by receiving updates and information from staff, the reduction in the infant's need for medical intervention, and observations of infant's behaviours and responses [14, 16-19, 41, 43, 45, 53, 61]. In Fenwick et al's [19] study, mothers receiving some '*certainty*' about the infant's viability helped them to connect. Whereas for fathers in Lundqvist et al's [42] study, the relationship with their infant became stronger once the infant was moved out of the incubator. A strategy used by staff in Roller et al's study when mothers and infants were separated after birth was to bring the mother a photograph of her infant. One mother reported on the significance of seeing and hearing news of her daughter's health:

[They] brought pictures back [from the NU] ....I felt a lot better when they went down there. They said she's doing fine. They said she's breathing on her own and she's doing good. I was like, good, thank God. (p. 214)[41] In two of the studies undertaken with fathers, fathers reported how it was only once they were assured about their partner's health, did they start to feel emotionally connected to their infant [18, 44].

#### Understanding the process and expectations

Parent-infant emotional closeness was also reported to be intrinsically related to parents' understanding of what had happened to them, and what was happening to their infant. In one study, this concerned an awareness and understanding of the parent's own emotions and experiences – a Swedish mother from Flacking et al's cross-cultural diary study [14] reported:

This is a really difficult question. I don't know when it [feeling emotionally close] happened and when I started to feel it, but it's likely that it was about 1 week after birth because the first week was difficult with lots of tears and everything that had happened so quickly. So, I would say when everything has calmed down and you've had the time to understand what has happened and what you have been through" (SM3, p. 4-5)

In other studies, feelings of closeness were developed and augmented by parents' understanding of the physiological impacts of prematurity and the care/support their infant required [14, 40, 42, 43, 45]; *'being a mother is knowing your child'* (p. 1015)[40]. Being in close physical proximity and observing their infants' responses enabled parents to pick up cues and to learn how to touch and interact with their infant [14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 39, 41, 44, 45, 49, 54, 55, 57]. A mother from a study undertaken in France [18] reported:

It's important to understand her reactions, when she cries or seems nervous. If I don't manage to calm her, I feel like a bad mother who does not understand her child. It's important to understand and also to know what to do next (m15) p.6.

Acquiring an understanding of their infant's condition involved parents reading books on prematurity [45], observing, questioning and receiving feedback from staff [15, 18, 19, 40, 52] and asking questions of other mothers [40]. It also involved an appreciation of the procedures, rules and regulations of the individual NU and an understanding of the purpose and nature of the technical devices used [14, 15, 18, 19, 39, 45, 47, 54].

# **Evolving parental role**

The final theme of 'evolving parental role' relates to how parent's identities as a primary caregiver were manifested through different activities and actions. Three sub-themes describe how closeness was facilitated through parent's feeling that they were contributing to their infant's health (*'contributing to wellness'*), being able to provide direct care (*'caring and advocating for infants needs'*) and being recognised and acknowledged as a parent (*'acknowledged as a parent'*).

# Contributing to wellness

Parent-infant connections were facilitated by parents' perceiving their behaviours and actions to have a direct impact on infant health and wellbeing. For instance, breastfeeding was highlighted as an important activity that provided mutual benefits [14, 16, 38-40, 45, 48, 59]:

The most wonderful moment has probably been when the baby was on the breast for the first time. That feeling that the child gets nourishment from you makes us closer to each other. (FM7, p.4) [14].

Breastfeeding provided mothers with a unique role in their infant's lives, and their infants benefitted from the immunological and physiological benefits of breastfeeding. Similar sentiments were also expressed by mothers in Bujold et al's [20] study in relation to expressing breastmilk as it enabled them to feel like *'you're a mother'* (p.4).

Parent-infant emotional closeness were also strengthened by parents observing how their actions such as breastfeeding, sending taped music to be played back, singing to their infant, physical touch, skin-to-skin/kangaroo care had visible and tangible benefits for their infants. These benefits could relate to infants gaining weight, requiring less medical intervention, and/or being visibly soothed or relaxed [14, 15, 22, 38, 41, 45, 48, 50, 51, 54-57, 59, 60]; *'the nurses said that he was quiet when they played him the tapes'* [M17, p. 333) [45]:

I'm happy that my presence is comforting to my baby. It makes me happy to know that I can help relieve some of her suffering (p.E8)[57]

In the study by Tarus & Tjale [51], mothers referred to how close physical contact also enabled them to identify any changes or alterations to their infant's wellbeing, and to alert staff accordingly:

When providing KMC to the child, it is easy to see her if in case any changes like color or anything happens to her. It is easy to see. Even breathing you can hear the heartbeat when she is in your chest but in the incubator you won't be able to notice that earlier. In the incubator she is not all that close like in my chest' (Precious, p. 202)[51]

#### Caring and advocating for infant's needs

Providing basic parenting duties such as cleaning, bathing, feeding, washing, changing diapers, and dressing, was reported to have increased parent's feelings of connection and love [14-16, 19, 23, 40, 42, 44, 46, 51, 52, 56-58, 60]:

When we started to take care of the daughter more and more ourselves, the connection and love became stronger and stronger and still is!" (SM5, p.5)[14]

One father reported how being able to participate in feeding provided him with a 'special feeling of closeness' [46] p.1992, whereas for other fathers in the study by Lundqvist et al, caretaking was reported to have made them feel 'confirmed as a father' [42] p.13. A mother who took part in a singing intervention considered how singing to their infant made them feel they had a more active role in their infant's care [56]. Providing basic cares, or other means to interact with their infants such as clinical-related care (e.g., administering medications such as vitamins)[40], singing [50, 56], or skin-to-skin/kangaroo mother care provided parents with a meaningful purpose to interact with their infants and through which they were able to 'get to know' and to 'discover who our little baby is' [15]; strengthening and consolidating positive parent-infant relationships:

Thanks to the sessions [music therapy] I learned how to get to know my baby better' (Participant MT7) no p.n. 'Because they helped me to get to know the expressions of my daughter. (Participant MT14)[50]

A further way in which parents sensed feelings of emotional closeness with their infants was by advocating for their needs [19]. Women in studies undertaken in the USA and Spain [52, 59] referred to how knowing their infant's status enabled them to be more emotionally engaged with their '*infant's battles*' [59] and in directing their infant's care. The knowledge that parents gathered through staff, clinical indicators and self-taught means enabled them to feel that they knew their infants '*best*' [46]. In turn, they felt able to inform staff of their infant's needs during ward rounds [14, 15], and in negotiating '*the best care*' [19] for their infants.

#### Acknowledged as a parent

A further way parents developed and experienced emotional closeness to their infants was through being acknowledged and valued as a parent by healthcare staff. This related to when parents felt that they had a level of control over providing care for their infants that was recognised and supported by staff, and which in turn was reported to have helped parents to connect to their infant [15, 17, 19, 22, 40, 42, 49, 51, 52, 54, 57, 60]. One father in Olsson et al's study [54] stated that: *'it's sort of a good feeling when you feel able to do it by yourself'* (father 14, p.e6). In addition, an Australian mother in Fenwick et al's [19] reflected on how she was able to provide care independently:

Like being able to come in and pick her up myself and sort of start managing it myself, making more decisions rather than waiting for the nurses. I think that's when I started feeling more like a mother (p.76). [19]

Mothers in Fenwick et al's study [19] referred to how they would specifically use technical jargon and remain *'polite'* and *'remain pleasant'* (p. 76) to present themselves as a capable and

adept parent, who could be trusted to provide direct support to their infants. Whereas other parents referred to how engaging in skin-to-skin contact [39, 55, 60] or direct cares [19, 62] helped them to learn about themselves as parents and provided a sense of parental competence which enabled them to, e.g., *'push on'* and *'get our own way'* with staff (p. 78)[19], to become more involved and confident in providing care, and/or adopting other areas of responsibility [55].

Other means of feeling acknowledged as a parent that helped facilitate parent-infant emotional connections was through having conversations with staff who knew their infant as well as they did [15], and via staff encouragement and affirmation of the mother-infant relationship:

[Nurse] made me realize that I know my little girl, and confidence in knowing makes each holding better than the last (p. 571)[23]

Fathers also provided some interesting reflections in terms of how being able to care for their infants on the unit, such as providing skin-to-skin contact, enabled them to have a more equal caregiving role [54]. The dedicated and uninterrupted time to provide care for their infant on the neonatal unit led them to feel more included and for a 'special bond' to be developed, particularly when compared to their experience of having a term infant [54, 62]. A father from Hearn et al. study reported:

Unlike my first ones ... I wasn't really there in the hospital stay with them. But with the twins, I was there all the time. It's just a different kind of bond ... (James, p.85)[62]

#### Discussion

This meta-ethnography adopted a salutogenic approach to identify what facilitates and enables parents' experiences of emotional closeness to their infants while cared for in a neonatal unit. Insights into emotional closeness were identified from 34 studies undertaken in 17 different countries. Reciprocal translation was used to identify and assess similar issues and concepts that concerned emotional closeness with this data synthesised into three overarching themes. First, 'embodied connections' concerns how emotional closeness was facilitated by physical contacts and reciprocal parent-infant actions, spending uninterrupted time as a family, and use of strategies and artefacts to enable parents to feel connected while separated from their infants. The second theme, 'inner knowing' describes the cognitive aspects of emotional closeness how closeness was enabled via knowledge about the infant's and mother's health, and knowledge and understanding of the processes and norms of neonatal care. The third theme, 'evolving parental role', concerns how emotional closeness was intertwined with parental identities of feeling they were contributing to infant health and development, able and competent in providing direct cares, and being recognised and acknowledged as a parent. Other factors such as poor infant and/or maternal health, poor parent-staff relationships, cultural factors and restricted resources are well known to influence parent-infants relationships [15]. We made a conscious choice to undertake a salutogenic and reciprocal based analysis to identify transferable strategies to optimise parent and infant wellbeing in a neonatal context.

Arguably, emotional closeness operates as an important precursor to parent-infant attachment, which is observable and measurable at the end of the first year [64]. Bowlby's evolutionary theory of attachment concerns how attachment is mutually innate, whereby infants use facial and vocal cues such as cries to promote interaction, and parents are biologically programmed to be receptive to these cues [65]. Bowlby's work has been highly influential in informing wider theories on parent-infant relationships. For instance, the Mutual Regulation Model relies on coregulation of parent and infant interactions that require the infant to possess a certain level of maturity and a repertoire of behavioural responses[66]. However, due to developmental and physiological immaturity and ill health, premature/sick infants' behavioural responses are not well developed, and they are less able to engage in mutually responsive interactions [67-69]. Parents are also often restricted in their level of involvement in caregiving and responsiveness to their infants due to medical interventions, neonatal routines, and emotional responses such as fear and distress [12]. Thus, the evolution of a parent-infant relationship and emotional closeness in a neonatal context is more challenging. Data from the included studies in this review suggests that the underlying mechanism promoting emotional closeness was reciprocity. Flacking et al [70] use the term reciprocity to describe a mutually satisfying parentinfant breastfeeding relationship, whereby parents of premature infants acknowledge their own needs and perceived needs of their infants. We extend this notion to suggest that emotional closeness is initiated and developed through reciprocal interactions between parents, infants, staff and wider family members, and influenced by spatial (use of space on the unit), physical (opportunities for physical contacts), cognitive (understanding their infant's prognosis, and rules of the NU), embodied (feeling, acting and being perceived as a parent) and health (of mothers and infants) related aspects. These insights thereby offer a specific perspective on the different pathways that can catalyze reciprocal parent-infant attunement and to facilitate emotional closeness.

Our synthesis found that parents felt emotionally connected when they engaged in various forms of physical contact with their infant (i.e., touch, skin-to-skin contact). In the past two decades growing evidence on the neurobiological underpinnings of parenting behaviour reveals the dynamic interplay that occurs between the neurological systems of parents and their

newborns[71]. Infant behaviours precipitate physiological processes that contribute to the development of the infant-parent relationship, as well as stimulate parent's neurological system and promote parental well-being[72]. Visual and auditory cues emitted by infants activate regions of the parental brain implicated in parenting behavior[73, 74]. Moreover, infant behaviours and somatosensory stimuli, such as touch or skin-to-skin contact, can enhance sensitive parenting behaviours[75]. Skin-to-skin contact, one form of physical closeness, is associated with decreased parental cortisol and anxiety and better parental well-being[76]. Thus, it may be that physical contact with the infant in the NU might be particularly salient for emotional closeness.

Single room designs that enable parents and infant to be housed together 24-7 are associated with improved parent and infant outcomes [77]. However, our review also highlights how an innovative use of space on the unit (e.g., use of screens) that enables families to spend private and uninterrupted time together was important [15, 23]. Our study also highlights how some parents used artefacts, or technology such as audio recordings to have or maintain a connection with their infant when they could not be physically present. In the NU context parents may experience separation anxiety; that is unpleasant feelings and concerns about leaving their infant[78], and thus such strategies may enable parents to cope with separation. Parents have described the negative emotions they experience with departures from the NU, and NU nurses have observed these as well [79, 80]. Moderate distress upon separation is considered normal and desirable, and an indicator of secure attachment, and studies have found that mothers of infants who have health problems may be more likely to report significant separation anxiety [81, 82].

A further key finding was how parents need to feel valued and acknowledged as an important caregiver in their infant's life, whether this be through providing cares, and/or advocating for their infant's needs. As the reality for parents of premature/sick infants care is very different from their antenatal expectations, they require targeted and specialist education, support and opportunities to care for their infants[83]. Our findings reflect those of Thomson et al. [83] in that in order for parents to feel emotional close to their infants they need to be able to understand their/their infant's situation, have sufficient resources (personal, social, spatial etc) to be able to provide care for their infant, and to receive positive feedback and motivation from others (staff, families).

# Implications for practice

Some of the key implications from this work are as follows. First this work reinforces some of the central tenets of family centred care in terms of the need for positive parent-staff partnership practices and parents being providing with early and ongoing education so they can become active decision-makers and advocates in the care of their infant [83]. Other implications concern how NU policies and models of care provision must foster and not limit parental presence. As privacy was a key factor in promoting emotional closeness, and not all settings have single family rooms, conditions to create shared spaces for dedicated family time should be prioritised.

Staff can encourage parents to develop strategies that help them maintain an emotional connection to their infant when they are separated. Communication technologies, such as web-conferencing are now utilized in some units to allow parents to visualize and hear their infant from elsewhere. Audiotapes of parent's speaking, reading or singing are also being used to

expose infants to appropriate forms of auditory stimulation and may have the added value of helping parents feel close to their infant when they are not present at the bedside.

Infant responsiveness to their parent was important for parent's emotional closeness. Recognition and acknowledgement that the development and evolution of the parent-infant relationship in a neonatal context is more challenging and specific support is vital. Neonatal nurses are well-positioned to facilitate parents learning to recognize and interpret subtle infant cues, so parents can recognize signs that their infant is responding to them during interactions. Staff should also be educated on the neurobiology of parenting, so they understand the importance of, value and promote physical proximity for the well-being of both infants and their parents.

# Strengths and limitations

The strengths of this meta-syntheses are the comprehensive and inclusive search strategy. The team members were from a range of professional/academic backgrounds (e.g., psychology, nursing, midwifery, social sciences, neonatology), who had expertise in undertaking systematic reviews and/or qualitative syntheses thereby enhancing the rigour of this work. A broad approach was adopted whereby any study that provided a substantial contribution, for example a theme, concerned with emotional closeness was included. Less than half the included studies had an explicit focus on the parent-infant relationship; most described elements of emotional closeness as a by-product of other parent-related activities such as breastfeeding or skin-to-skin/kangaroo care. However, as reflected in Table 4, as no single study contributed to all the sub-themes, these studies collectively enabled richer and more insightful insights into when, how and why emotional closeness could be facilitated. We also found similar insights from parents who experienced different care contexts and were of different parities; although only

one of the studies had been undertaken a low-income context, which means the findings may not be generalisable to these settings. Futhermore, as ethnicity was often missing from the included studies, this was not reported. Further work could focus on what emotional closeness means within different care contexts, e.g., units with open bay, family rooms; settings, e.g., low or middle income countries; and with different groups of parents, e.g., different ethnic groups, vulnerable population groups, etc.

#### Conclusion

This systematic review using meta-ethnography methods adopted a salutogenic perspective to identify what facilitates and enables parents' experiences of emotional closeness to their infants while cared for in a neonatal unit. Three key themes are reported that highlight the multefacted nature of emotional closeness. 'Embodied connections' describes how emotional closeness was facilitated by reciprocal parent-infant interactions. 'Inner knowing' reflects how knowledge and understanding of their infant's health and NU procedures were powerful enablers to experiencing emotional closeness. Finally, the 'evolving parental role' concerns how it was vital for parents to feel they were contributing to infant health, to feel valued by others and to have their parental identity acknowledged. This work offers new insights into what constitutes parents-infant emotional closeness and offers practice based strategiews into how it can be facilitated during neonatal care. Further research to confirm or expand these issues within focused research studies and with different populations is needed.

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