| 1  | Further Silencing the Voiceless: The Role of Gatekeepers in Accessing Information About                       |
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| 2  | Self-Injury   |
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# 14 **Further Silencing the Voiceless:** 15 The Role of Gatekeepers in Accessing Information about Self-Injury 16 17 **Abstract** Gatekeepers play a pivotal role in protecting individuals under their care, and are central to 18 keeping people safe and away from harm. In the field of non-suicidal self-injury (NSSI) a range 19 20 of gatekeepers exist, including those who protect access to vulnerable research participants, those 21 who protect school children, those charged with making decisions about funding priorities, and 22 those in charge of clinical care for people who self-injure. The aim of this commentary is to 23 outline the roles these different gatekeepers have in protecting access to research participants, access to NSSI knowledge, and access to clinical care for individuals who self-injure. We 24 25 provide examples in which gatekeepers may present barriers, and offer solutions for how to work 26 with gatekeepers for mutual benefit. 27 28 *Keywords*: self-injury; NSSI; gatekeepers; ethics 29 30

Non-suicidal self-injury (NSSI) is the deliberate damage to one's own body without intent to die, most commonly by way of cutting, burning, or self-battery (ISSS, 2020). This excludes behaviours considered culturally or socially normative (e.g., tattoos), or those that result in indirect tissue damage (e.g., drug abuse). Often for the purpose of emotion regulation (Taylor et al., 2018), 5.5% of adults, 13.4% of young adults, and 17.2% of adolescents have self-injured at least once in their lifetime (Swannell et al., 2014), with about half of these engaging in repetitive NSSI (Daukantaite et al., 2021). Despite being non-suicidal in nature, NSSI is associated with mental health difficulties and later suicidality. Specifically, individuals with a history of selfinjury are twice as likely to also have a mood disorder, 1.76 times as likely to have an anxiety disorder, and 5.5 times more likely to report a subsequent suicide attempt (Bentley et al., 2015; Kiekens et al., 2018). Considering these associated challenges, academic and clinical work in the field of NSSI is vital, with potential to improve and save lives. Such work is dependent on numerous gatekeepers who can simultaneously facilitate and obstruct NSSI-related research, education, or clinical care. Gatekeeping of research participants has previously been explored (e.g., Crowhurst & Kennedy-Macfoy, 2013), with an emphasis on ethics committees limiting access to groups considered vulnerable. However, the notion of gatekeepers logically extends to gatekeepers of knowledge and clinical care. In this commentary, we outline the roles of key gatekeepers, discuss potential barriers posed by each to the advancement of the NSSI field, and explore potential solutions to better facilitate research, knowledge dissemination, and personcentred care for individuals who self-injure (see Table 1).

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# Who are the gatekeepers?

Gatekeepers are individuals, agencies, or groups who control access to something, akin to a gate controlling entry to a city. In the context of NSSI, this might include controlling access to research participants, access to information or research through the peer review process, and through social media outlets (e.g., Facebook; WeChat; Twitter; Instagram) choosing what and how to report NSSI (Staniland et al., in press; Westers et al., 2021). Gatekeepers also play a role in training health professionals and the provision of clinical care. The role of each of these gatekeepers differs across these contexts, but in all cases they are controlling access to resources or information that may be used to shape an individual's ideas and/or knowledge about NSSI. While gatekeepers can play an important role in protecting individuals (as in controlling access to vulnerable participants), the type and extent of information conveyed or the level of clinical training provided to healthcare students can result in stigma (Hasking et al., in press), discrimination, and inadequate clinical care (McGough et al., 2021; Ngune et al., 2021).

# **Gatekeepers of Participants**

## **Ethics committees**

Ethics Committees and Institutional Review Boards are critical to ensuring ethical research with respect to: research merit and integrity, justice (fair treatment of participants), beneficence (benefits outweighing potential risks), and respect (recognising participants' intrinsic value; NHMRC, 2018). Participant vulnerability is a key component of such considerations, with mental illness and associated behaviours (e.g., NSSI) often viewed as evidence of vulnerability (Bracken-Roche et al., 2016). In recent years, there have been calls to include individuals with lived experience throughout the research process, not only as participants, but as consultants and researchers (Lewis & Hasking, 2020). However, viewing

people with lived experience as inherently vulnerable risks devaluing their contributions, countering the principle of respect. Uncritical application of this notion risks excluding the very people we wish to include. For this reason, some ethics committees have moved away from assumptions of inherent vulnerability to focus on whether participants are particularly vulnerable in the specific context of the research project (Gordon, 2020; Tri-Council Statement, 2018).

One author's recent experience provides an example of how perceived vulnerability can hinder research. After receiving funding in response to a call for demand-driven research that prioritizes the inclusion of individuals with lived experience, we proposed to interview patients one week after discharge from emergency department presentation for self-injury regarding their experiences of emergency care. Despite an experienced clinical team and clear safety protocols, the hospital ethics committee determined that there was unacceptable risk in conducting interviews because patients were too vulnerable by virtue of their self-injury. After 18 months of discussion with no mutually satisfactory agreement, we reluctantly agreed to have no direct patient contact. It was only then the project was granted ethical approval. To us, this seems counter to the initial call to include people with lived experience in research, and prevents learning about patients' care experiences.

Similar experiences have been reported by other researchers, (e.g., Sharkey et al., 2011) where young people who self-injure are viewed as vulnerable and concerns about anonymity, participant safety, and consent are expressed. More recently, researchers have noted a reluctance to approve research projects about self-harm during the COVID pandemic, preventing research about the impact of the pandemic on self-harm, and preventing people in need from being heard (Cook et al., 2022). The researchers note that the views of those excluded cannot be used to inform policy or services and ask "Who is protected when such research is not allowed" (p6).

Solutions: There is a vast body of literature demonstrating that asking about self-injury and suicidal behaviour in research settings does not increase participant vulnerability (Gould et al., 2005; Hasking et al., 2015; Lockwood et al., 2018; Muehlenkamp et al., 2010; Muehlenkamp et al., 2015). While some participants may experience discomfort, this is short-lived and outweighed by the reported benefits. Moreover, participants often report altruistic reasons for participation (i.e., to help others) and that resources provided by researchers offer new, useful sources of support (Hasking et al., 2015; Whitlock & Pietrusza., 2013). Of greater concern is the exclusion of lived experience voices in our research, which hinders what we can understand about self-injury, and thus how our research can have impact. If funders wish to increase participation of individuals with lived experience in the research process, they need to work with gatekeepers, including ethics committees, on how this can be achieved in safe and practical ways (e.g., employing guidelines developed to help self-injury researchers protect participants and conduct ethical research; Lloyd-Richardson et al., 2015). By doing so there is an opportunity to inform policy change to allow inclusion of lived experience voices in research (Cook et al., 2022).

# **Departments of Education and school boards**

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Departments of Education and school boards (e.g. representing groups of schools in a jurisdiction) represent another gatekeeper of participants, who, appropriately, go to great lengths to protect those under their care from potential harm. Researchers are often denied access to students when researching NSSI; for instance, some religious schools include self-harm in their list of topics deemed high-risk (e.g., Catholic Education Office, 2020). Such topics may attract scrutiny or approval refused, particularly when such topics go against their religious teaching

(e.g., suicide). However, given NSSI is most prevalent among youth (Swannell et al., 2014), accessing school-aged students is vital to furthering understanding of the behaviour.

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Considerations must, of course, be made when working with school students. Parent consent is typically required for school-aged children, and stand-by psychologists may be required to manage potential distress. However, these safeguards may complicate issues of disclosure, confidentiality, and autonomy. NSSI is often a hidden behaviour, and requiring parental consent may risk inadvertent disclosure of the behaviour. In such cases, the competency of the child to make an autonomous decision about research participation must be considered (Hasking et al., 2019; NHMRC, 2018). Another concern limiting access to school-aged participants is social influence. While some youth do gain the idea to self-injure from friends, there are ways of mitigating this risk, such as avoiding detailed discussion of NSSI methods (Hasking et al., 2019). Notwithstanding these concerns, limited access to schools excludes a large proportion of children and adolescents who may want, and indeed have the right, to be heard. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) Article 12 states: "States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child." In the case of NSSI, views of young people can be critical to understanding factors related to the onset of the behaviour.

Solutions: As mentioned, participants in NSSI research often report their involvement as an insightful and altruistic experience (Muehlenkamp et al., 2015; Whitlock et al., 2013). This attitude is reflected in adolescent studies where the benefits of participation outweigh short-term risk (Hasking, et al., 2015) with no iatrogenic effects (Muehlenkamp, et al., 2015). As with ethics committees, we need to work in partnership with schools and education boards to foster research

that is mutually beneficial. Guidelines have been published with the aim of helping researchers balance research merit with beneficence when working with children. These include: provision of NSSI resources; using mood inductions to elevate mood after study participation; use of distraction buttons in online surveys; ensuring researchers are professionally competent to conduct ethical research; and ensuring duty of care (Lloyd-Richardson et al., 2015).

# **Gatekeepers of Knowledge**

## **Academics and Universities**

Academics play a central role as gatekeepers to scientific knowledge. Indeed, it is academics, through their involvement in peer-review processes, who decide what research is funded and published. In the grant review process, peer-review typically focuses on the scientific and ethical rigour of the proposed research. However, individual funders evaluate applications according to their own priorities, and in doing so inform research priorities more broadly. As such systemic biases, epistemological priorities, and political interests can pose barriers to researching NSSI. In our experience (which may be different from the experience of others), successful grant applications frame NSSI research in the context of suicide prevention, due to funder prioritization of suicide prevention. Even here, research into suicide and self-harm are insufficiently funded (Christensen et al., 2013), especially in low to middle income countries (Lemmi, 2021). This limits the scope of NSSI research, meaning our knowledge about self-injury is also thwarted.

Knowledge may also be restricted by the peer-review process in publication of findings. While a cornerstone of quality academic publication, low acceptance rates and high publication demand mean academics involved in peer-review and editorial processes decide what gets published, and by extension the "legitimacy" of research foci. Reviewers can suggest changing

the messaging posed by academics, or can reject papers based on biased or uninformed views (Lee et al., 2013). In one relevant experience, a paper rejection received by some of the authors was justified in part by concern that decreasing NSSI stigma would normalise, and therefore encourage, people to engage in the behaviour. In other words, stigma was thought to prevent NSSI, and we were cautioned against trying to reduce it. In line with our person-centred philosophy and the general shift to inclusivity, this struck us as particularly insensitive. This is just one example from our own experiences, but is a critique we have received on a number of our papers about NSSI stigma. We are also aware of other colleagues who have received rejections, where anonymous reviewer comments reflect inaccurate or biased views. These are just anecdotes, but we suggest there is a role for researchers and journal editors to minimize bias in the review process.

Universities are also gatekeepers to knowledge, given their power to determine boundaries for education, research, and professional practice. For example, course coordinators set the precedence for ethical and "appropriate" education standards through their respective curricula, meaning they hold the capacity to gate-keep the scope of students' education. Indeed, we recount little to no experience with NSSI academia throughout our own undergraduate degrees. From this, university educators may inadvertently gate-keep access to NSSI information. In clinical and allied health courses, NSSI is rarely a topic of education in its own right, and if discussed, is often situated in the context of suicide risk assessment, conflating treatment of suicidal thoughts/behaviours with treatment of NSSI (Cramer et al., 2019; Hawgood et al., 2021). Although NSSI is a predictor of subsequent suicidal thoughts/behaviour, the two behaviours are distinct in their epidemiology, methods used, functions, and outcomes

(Muehlenkamp, 2014). Failure to make this distinction risks inappropriate treatment, damaging rapport with the client, and reducing future support seeking (Miettinen et al., 2021).

Solutions: Prioritising the funding and publication of high quality NSSI research necessitates advocacy from people with and without lived experience. Such efforts could include lobbying governments and funding partners, sharing experiences with reviewers and editors, or contributing to discourse via public forums (e.g., social media) and/or academic texts (e.g., Stirling & Chandler, 2021). Furthermore, while we appreciate that educators are often bound by external registration requirements, and acknowledge the extensive topics needing to be covered, there remains scope to integrate NSSI-related content into course materials, and indeed in academic standards issued by relevant accrediting bodies. Giving voices to lived experience views could raise awareness of NSSI as a significant public health issue, which may encourage it to be considered worthy of academic attention and funding. In line with Groschwitz et al. (2017), we also propose training staff through NSSI workshops to upskill educators with accurate NSSI information.

## Social Media

Growing research has highlighted the centrality of social media as a salient medium on which to share one's experience, obtain needed support, offer support to others, and access self-injury resources (Alvarez., 2020; Lewis & Seko, 2016). These benefits notwithstanding, concerns have been raised about potential adverse impacts of online communication about self-injury, including potential for help-seeking and recovery to be thwarted, for people to be stigmatised (e.g., through trolling), and for some content (e.g., graphic imagery) to trigger NSSI urges (Lewis & Seko, 2016). As such, major social networks have attempted to limit posting of

(and thereby access to) NSSI content. For instance, through removing or curtailing the use of content/hashtags deemed inappropriate, Facebook, Pinterest, Tumblr, Twitter, and Instagram restrict access to self-harm-related content, concerned that such material promotes self-harm (including NSSI).

Certainly, overt promotion of self-injury is worrisome; however, pro-NSSI material appears uncommon and what constitutes "pro self-injury" may be misunderstood, leading to inappropriate censorship (Mavandadi & Lewis, in press). For instance, while graphic images of NSSI can be upsetting and triggering for some people with lived experience, images of scars tend to be much less (if at all) triggering (Baker & Lewis, 2013). Indeed, scarring can be a key part of sharing one's recovery journey and resilience (Lewis & Mehrabkhani, 2015). However, despite research indicating that access to recovery-oriented content can inspire positivity regarding recovery potential (Lewis et al., 2018), many posts that discuss self-injury experiences (e.g., with recovery) may be deemed inappropriate and thus removed. Consequently, a blanket approach to censorship of NSSI-related content may deprive individuals of much-needed support networks. This has the potential to exacerbate stigma and leave people feeling more alone and hopeless.

Solutions: To avoid perpetuating damaging or inaccurate information about NSSI, or blanket-banning all NSSI-related content, those involved in producing media should turn to recently published guidelines by Westers et al. (2021). These guidelines provide empirically driven recommendations for news and social media, with a focus on accurate reporting, non-sensationalist or stigmatising messaging, and presenting stories of recovery and hope. Recent examination of news media suggests a propensity toward sensationalist or stigmatizing reporting (Staniland et al., in press). With specific reference to social media, the guidelines suggest: posting clear rules about not posting triggering content; posting clear response guidelines that

allow for damaging or stigmatising posts to be flagged and removed; use of human or machine systems that can quickly identify and respond to breaches of platform guidelines; apply meaningful consequences for repeat offenders; and regularly update guidelines and procedures to incorporate new and emerging knowledge about posting trends (Westers et al., 2021). It is imperative that online platforms adopt a more balanced approach that avoids widespread censorship, honours people's freedom of expression, and promotes online safety.

## **Gatekeepers of Clinical Care**

A person who self-injures may encounter several gatekeepers when seeking support in the healthcare system. As primary providers of clinical care, doctors, nurses, psychologists, and psychiatrists are positioned to offer or withhold care. Health care professionals have a wealth of knowledge and experience invaluable to a help-seeking individual, however they can also be limited by their area of expertise. As previously discussed, NSSI is not adequately covered in most higher education curricula, thus increasing the likelihood of health care professionals entering the workforce with insufficient understanding of self-injury (Hawgood et al., 2021; Muehlenkamp et al., 2014). Clinicians thus report elevated anxiety when assessing self-harm (broadly defined), and attribute this, in part, to a lack of sufficient training (Dubue & Hanson, 2020).

Despite serving primarily as an emotion regulation strategy, NSSI is often wrongly stereotyped as suicidal or manipulative (Staniland et al., 2020). A clinician who is not knowledgeable about NSSI is at risk of relying on false stereotypes in their approach to a client's care. For example, an emergency department nurse treating a patient with self-inflicted wounds may assume suicidal intent, and consequently initiate suicide watch procedures that can be stigmatising or cause further harm to the individual (Ngune et al., in press). Similarly, a

psychologist may be inclined to focus their treatment principally on the cessation of NSSI (even if it is not a priority for the client), prematurely ending treatment if clients engage in NSSI.

While some healthcare workers may use no-harm contracts, such contracts presently have little empirical support in the context of NSSI, and may result in further harm to the individual (Wadman et al., 2020).

Solutions: Clinicians should seek training in contemporary evidence-based approaches to understanding/treating NSSI. For example, Andover et al. (2015) take a functional approach to the assessment of NSSI, which aims to identify the factors contributing to the onset and maintenance of self-injurious behaviour on an individual level. Such factors can then be targeted in a personalised treatment approach. Person-centred care also seeks to truly understand the experience of self-injury, from the individual's perspective, engaging respectful curiosity, and fostering empowerment (Bareiss, 2020). As with all areas of clinical competency, if a clinician is not confident in their understanding of NSSI, they should consider referring the client to a colleague better equipped to provide evidence-based treatment. One way to encourage ongoing professional development is to include training on NSSI as a mandatory component of continued registration as a health professional. Similar agencies responsible for professional practice may also be in a position to mandate ongoing training regarding the latest research and practice in the field of NSSI.

277 Conclusion

A better understanding and response to NSSI necessitates ongoing research, provision of accurate and comprehensive knowledge, and informed clinical care. We have outlined here the roles of several key gatekeepers that may limit such endeavours, and have offered potential

solutions for mitigating these barriers and progressing the field. We must note that these gatekeeper roles are not mutually exclusive, and that gatekeepers can also be academics, clinicians, members of the general public, and/or individuals with lived experience. Working collaboratively with gatekeepers will be the optimal way to balance different priorities, and ensure an environment that maximally progresses the field and supports individuals who self-injure.

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