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The spectrum of care within a university context: the differing roles of carers in supporting students who self-harm

Edwards-Bailey, Laura, Smyth, Nina, Cartwright, Tina and Mackenzie, Jay-Marie

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1 **Introduction**

2 Carers often play a crucial role in an individual's treatment plan and emotional
3 support, including advocacy, encouraging help-seeking, and maintaining
4 engagement with services (Olasoji et al, 2017; Carlsen and Lundberg, 2018; Carers
5 UK, 2019; MacDonald et al, 2021). Many researchers have explored experiences of
6 those caring for individuals with mental health conditions (Olasoji et al, 2017; Liberati
7 et al, 2021; MacDonald et al, 2021), including depression (Scerri et al, 2019), bipolar
8 disorder (Wasley and Eden, 2018), psychosis (Sin et al, 2021) and eating disorders
9 (Yim et al, 2021). Additional challenges for those providing care to people with
10 mental health conditions are the comorbid behaviours that may occur, including self-
11 harm (SH) and suicidal behaviours (McLaughlin et al, 2014; O'Keeffe et al, 2021).
12 The existing research in this field suggests that individuals providing care to people
13 who carry out SH and/or enact suicidal behaviours could be at an increased risk of
14 experiencing poor well-being, unhealthy stress levels, and burnout (Byrne et al,
15 2008; Simpson et al, 2019; Hazell et al, 2021; Lascelles, 2021). Additionally, they
16 frequently worry about saying or doing the 'wrong thing' which may increase SH
17 (Reichardt, 2016; Ribeiro Coimbra and Noakes, 2021).

18 Recently, university students' mental health has been acknowledged as a
19 worldwide public health issue (Sharp and Theiler, 2018), with this cohort described
20 as a particularly 'high risk' group for experiencing mental health difficulties and
21 psychological distress (Larcombe et al, 2016; Browne et al, 2017; Hughes and
22 Spanner, 2019; Royal College of Psychiatrists, 2021), suicidal thoughts (Jasso-
23 Medrano and Lopez-Rosales, 2018; Mortier et al, 2018; Hazell et al, 2021) and up to
24 a third reporting SH during their studies (Borrill et al, 2009; Sivertsen et al, 2019;

25 Hamdan-Mansour et al, 2021). This increases demand on university counselling and
26 welfare services, as well as academic staff to offer well-being support (Hughes et al,
27 2018; Hughes and Byrom, 2019). In addition, many university students and family
28 members are providing 'informal'/unpaid support and care for their friends and loved
29 ones (referred to as 'carers' in the current article (Yeandle et al, 2017)), highlighting
30 the uniqueness of caregiving in a university setting (Laws and Fiedler, 2012; Byrom,
31 2019; Hazell et al, 2021; Edwards-Bailey et al, 2022). In 2013, the Carers Trust
32 conducted research specifically focusing on the experiences of young adult carers
33 attending a UK college or university (N=101) (Sempik and Becker, 2014). Findings
34 highlighted difficulties in managing academic demands alongside caring roles, with
35 almost half (45%) reporting difficulties with their own mental health. Resultingly,
36 recommendations emphasised the need for universities to recognise and support the
37 specific needs of young adult carers (Sempik and Becker, 2014). However, our
38 understanding of the impact of these ever-growing demands on university support
39 services, as well as carers, is limited.

40

41 **Literature Review**

42 *Who are 'carers'?*

43 Estimates suggest that one in eight UK adults are unpaid carers, resulting in an
44 annual economic saving of over £132 billion (Carers UK, 2019). Since the start of the
45 COVID-19 pandemic in March 2020, these numbers have further increased, with
46 approximately one in four UK adults providing unpaid care (Carers UK, 2021). A
47 carer has been defined as *"anyone, including children and adults who look after a*
48 *family member, partner, or friend, who needs help because of their illness, frailty,*

49 *disability, a mental health problem or an addiction, and cannot cope without their*
50 *support...the care they give is unpaid” (NHS England, 2021).*

51 Aldridge and Becker (1993) first recognised the role of children and adolescents
52 under the age of 18 years. These individuals played a key part in providing
53 substantial amounts of unpaid care for family members with a range of physical and
54 mental health difficulties (e.g., Becker, 2007; MacDonald et al, 2021). The caring
55 continuum (Becker, 2007) captures the diversity of this, proposing the idea of *caring*
56 *about* vs *caring for* an individual. For example, a young person helping with basic
57 chores and cleaning would fall within the ‘*caring about*’, representing a ‘normal’
58 involvement in caring activities. However, when this level of care increases due to
59 illness within families and households, young people move along the continuum to
60 ‘*caring for*’. Whilst earlier scholars recognised this group of young carers under the
61 age of 18, Becker and Becker (2008) noted that young adults, aged 18 to 24 years,
62 also play a crucial role in caring for family members, leading to the introduction of the
63 term ‘*young adult carer*’. This acknowledgement has encouraged researchers to
64 recognise the unique impact that this caring role may have on transition from
65 adolescents to early adulthood, particularly in relation to autonomy, employment, and
66 further education (Stamatopoulos, 2015; Boumans and Dorant, 2018).

67 Many individuals providing care do not identify with the label ‘carer’ and instead
68 view caring as part of being a parent, partner, or peer (Knowles et al, 2016). This
69 group of ‘hidden carers’ can make it difficult to quantify the true number of people
70 providing care (Smyth et al, 2011; Waters, 2021). Despite making significant
71 contributions to the individual they are caring for, and society more widely, hidden
72 carers often struggle to access support for themselves (Onwumere et al, 2018;

73 Khan-Shah, 2020). In particular, young adult carers, and specifically those studying
74 at university, have been recognised as a unique group requiring greater support at
75 an educational level (Sempik and Becker, 2014). Given increased rates of isolation,
76 loneliness, and poor well-being amongst this group (Sempik and Becker, 2014;
77 Greenwood et al, 2018; Becker and Sempik, 2019), identifying contexts in which
78 young carers and unpaid care are under-recognised may allow for increased support
79 provisions to be developed.

80 As well as unpaid caring experiences, there are also paid professionals, referred
81 to as care workers for the purpose of this article, working in various caring roles
82 (e.g., allied health professionals, counsellors etc) across a range of settings. Whilst
83 research has frequently focused on the experiences of care workers in health and
84 social care, the voice of those working in educational, voluntary, and third-sector
85 settings is limited, despite playing a pivotal role in patient care (Harrison and Gordon,
86 2021). Within the education sector specifically, the increasing rates of poor mental
87 health among students, including those in caring roles, are placing rising demands
88 and pressures on care workers in university settings (Sempik and Becker, 2014;
89 Auerbach et al, 2018). However, the impact of these demands and professional
90 caring experiences within a university context has yet to be explored.

91

92 *Caring for mental health and SH in university settings*

93 Research suggests that young adults who SH are more likely to make disclosures to,
94 and seek support from, friends, family, and romantic partners rather than
95 professional care workers (Armiento et al, 2014; Rowe et al, 2014; Hall and Melia,
96 2022). Studies exploring student experiences of seeking professional support at

97 university, including counselling and well-being services, have highlighted key gaps
98 and limitations in existing provisions (e.g., availability and quality of care) (Baik et al,
99 2019). Resultingly, students engaging in SH often receive support from multiple
100 sources, including friends, family and other students (Edwards-Bailey et al, 2022).
101 This may present a unique group of *non-identified potential carers*, a term suggested
102 in the literature to describe individuals aged 15-24 who share a household with an
103 individual/s who may need support with their self-care, communication and well-
104 being (Hill et al, 2009). Despite this, much of the university carer literature has
105 focused on identified young adult carers, particularly those caring for family
106 members, with little recognition of the broader role of caregiving among students
107 (Sempik and Becker, 2014; Byrom, 2019).

108 In recent years there have been several high-profile cases in the UK where a
109 university student has disclosed suicidal thoughts, mental health difficulties, or SH
110 within a university setting, but families were not informed due to data protection
111 legislation; in some instances these cases involved suicides (Murphy, 2019;
112 Coughlan, 2021; Megraoui, 2021). Initiatives have been introduced to encourage
113 collaboration between service users, professionals and carers in the UK (e.g., 'The
114 Triangle of Care' approach to mental health (Carers Trust, 2013)), with carers being
115 actively involved in the care of their loved ones. However, educational contexts such
116 as universities may be more challenging for implementing this approach due to
117 limited understanding of caring in this setting. As a result, those caring for university
118 students are often not involved or entitled to know what care, treatment or support
119 the person they are caring for is receiving. Students who are providing care may also
120 be managing their own difficulties and pressures of university life (e.g., coursework
121 and deadlines) (Sempik and Becker, 2014). Further, there is limited understanding of

122 the impact on professional care workers from the increasing demands on university
123 support services. To our knowledge, there is currently no literature specifically
124 exploring the role and experiences of those providing care to university students who
125 SH, warranting further research.

126 *Impact of the caring role: theoretical models*

127 Previous studies have highlighted key stressors experienced as a carer for those
128 with mental health difficulties, including negative reactions and stigma from family
129 members; carers feeling out of their depth or lacking adequate knowledge about the
130 individual's condition; and experiencing personal distress and social isolation
131 (Greenwood et al, 2018; MacDonald et al, 2021; Sin et al, 2021). Similar findings
132 have also been found among professional care workers in relation to poorer well-
133 being, burnout, compassion fatigue and increased stress (Cavanagh et al, 2020;
134 McCormack et al, 2018). Our understanding of why these negative impacts occur
135 may be explained in the context of effective coping and resilience. Transactional
136 models of caregiver stress highlight differing factors that influence the physical and
137 psychological health of carers and care workers. Individual characteristics of the
138 carer (e.g., gender), the needs of the individual they are caring for and the impact of
139 this on employment, relationships and finances, as well as the availability of social
140 support and coping mechanisms for the carer, have been suggested. More recently,
141 the mediating role of compassion on the negative impacts of caring has been
142 proposed by scholars, with the introduction of the caregiver suffering-compassion
143 model (Schulz et al, 2007; 2017). Compassion, defined as '*...a sensitivity to suffering*
144 *in self and others with a commitment to try and alleviate and prevent it*' (Gilbert and
145 Choden, 2013), involves emotional, cognitive and motivational processes. For those
146 offering a high level of compassion, if the individual they are caring for shows limited

147 reduction of suffering, these carers may be more likely to experience negative health
148 impacts. This highlights the potential influence of the caring continuum discussed
149 previously (i.e., Becker, 2007), with the lack of change in the individual's distress
150 having a greater impact on those with higher caring responsibility i.e., the '*caring for*'
151 end of the continuum. The need for future research to recognise caregiver
152 compassion is crucial for developing our understanding of caring, including ways in
153 which clinical practice and policy can be refined to support the needs of these
154 individuals (Schulz et al, 2007). To do so, exploration of feelings of love, concern,
155 interdependence, negative affect, distress, as well as desire and motivation to help,
156 is required (Murfield et al, 2020). While these compassion-related processes have
157 been explored in a family caring context, recognition of these factors among other
158 groups of carers and care workers is lacking. This highlights the importance of
159 research to better understand the role and experiences of people who provide care
160 and support to people who SH, with acknowledgement of wider systemic factors and
161 feelings of the carer that may influence the physical and psychological health of this
162 group. One avenue is to consider context-specific care and context-specific SH.

163 The present study aims to provide a novel insight into the experiences of people
164 providing care to UK university students who have self-harmed during their time at
165 university. Given the additional stressors of caring for people who SH, and the
166 negative impacts of carer burnout and compassion fatigue for both those providing
167 and receiving care, further research amongst carers/care workers in this setting is
168 required. We aim to understand the experiences of the different groups of carers in
169 universities, what caring means to them, as well as identify any areas in which they
170 may require further support when providing care specifically for SH.

171

172 **Methods**

173 ***Design***

174 A qualitative design, using in-depth, semi-structured interviews was adopted. All
175 participants experienced providing support for another individual who had self-
176 harmed during university. The Psychology Research and Knowledge Exchange
177 Ethics Working Group at the University of Westminster, made up of experienced
178 reviewers, granted ethical approval for conducting this research (*ETH1718-2337*).

179

180 ***Participants***

181 Twenty-four participants (19 female, 5 male) aged 18-55 years ($M = 29.7$, $SD = 9.8$)
182 were interviewed. The wide age range represents the broad spectrum of carers
183 within universities, with any individual with experience of providing support to another
184 individual engaging in SH during their time at university, either professionally, as a
185 friend, volunteer, colleague, parent, or in any other capacity included. Given the
186 limited knowledge of carers within a university setting and what this means to this
187 group, inclusion was deliberately broad, allowing participants to self-define as carers
188 based on their experiences. SH was defined as intentional self-injury or self-
189 poisoning regardless of suicidal intent (Hawton et al, 2012).

190 Recruitment took place through a variety of means. Individuals who had
191 previously taken part in an online survey conducted by the research team, exploring
192 SH during university, were able to leave their contact details to take part in further
193 research. Of those, individuals who indicated they had provided support for SH were
194 contacted and invited to take part in an interview. Participants recruited via this
195 method mainly consisted of friends and family carers, and those with both personal
196 and carer experiences of SH. In addition, posters calling for those with any

197 experience of supporting students engaging in SH were sent to all UK university
198 counselling and well-being services, student unions and key support organisations
199 (e.g., student minds, nightline). Adverts were also posted on social media (e.g.,
200 Twitter and Facebook). Nonprobability sampling techniques (i.e., convenience and
201 purposive) were thus used to recruit for interviews (Etikan et al, 2016).

202 Initially, a convenience sampling approach was taken, with participants contacted
203 on a rolling basis. After conducting several interviews, a spectrum of individuals in
204 university caring roles emerged (e.g., trained professionals, family, friends and those
205 who also had personal experiences of SH alongside caring for other students). Given
206 that the categories of carers did not fit with 'typical' definitions, a purposive sampling
207 technique was adopted to capture experiences in different geographical locations,
208 across the spectrum of university carers. Individuals based in UK locations different
209 to those where respondents had already been interviewed, and carers with limited
210 representation (i.e., friends and family) were selected. The final sample consisted of
211 three distinct groups of carers: professional care workers (N=10) (e.g., university
212 counsellors, mental health advisors and a GP); carers with no personal experience
213 of SH (e.g., friends/family members) (N=6); and carers with personal experiences of
214 SH (N=8). One professional care worker also had caring experience of a friend they
215 had lived with at university, and this dual role was explored. To maintain anonymity,
216 pseudonyms were assigned to all participants (see Table 1).

217

218 **Table 1**

219 *Participant pseudonyms and demographics*

220 *Insert Table 1 here*

221

222 **Interviews**

223 Qualitative interviews were selected due to the extensive and under-researched
224 nature of providing support for student SH (Ritchie et al, 2013). Semi-structured
225 interviews allow for an in-depth exploration of individual experiences, while ensuring
226 researchers can maintain focused on the aims of the research (Low, 2013). The
227 interview guide was developed through consideration of previous findings specific to
228 SH (e.g., Wadman et al, 2018; Edwards-Bailey et al, 2022) and team discussions,
229 with gaps in the existing literature on carers - e.g., the influence of compassion
230 (Schulz et al, 2007) - used to tailor the interview schedule. Given limited
231 understanding of university caring roles, initial questions were designed to explore
232 what the role meant and what this involved for the individual (see Table 2).

233 All interviews were audio-recorded and carried out by the first author (*LEB*),
234 lasting an average of 44 minutes (range 31 – 65 minutes). *LEB* drew upon clinical
235 experience of working psychologically with patients, families and multidisciplinary
236 healthcare teams (MDTs), facilitating the interview process and promoting a
237 relational focus (DeJonckheere and Vaughn, 2019). Due to the diverse sample and
238 sensitive nature of the research, interviews were conducted using differing platforms:
239 face-to-face (N=1), skype (N=4) and telephone (N=19). Use of different methods
240 allowed for those with time constraints and those who did not wish to discuss their
241 personal experiences face-to-face to take part in a less anxiety-provoking setting
242 (Janghorban et al, 2014; Mealer and Jones, 2014).

243 In line with ethical approval, the study was performed in accordance with the
244 Declaration of Helsinki. Informed consent was obtained in writing, prior to taking part
245 and verbally during the interview. Pre-and-post interview scores of participants'
246 emotional states were recorded using the Visual Analogue Scale (VAS). A debrief

247 and a list of supportive resources were administered on completion, with participants
248 offered £15 worth of vouchers for their time.

249

250 **Table 2**

251 *Semi-Structured Interview Schedule*

252 *Insert Table 2 Here*

253

254 **Data Analysis and Rigour**

255 Interviews were anonymised and transcribed verbatim by *LEB*, with a reflexive
256 thematic approach to analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006; 2021). Thematic Analysis
257 (TA) offers a flexible process, exploring detailed and rich data in an efficient and
258 systematic manner. TA is not grounded to a distinct epistemological position but
259 enables patterns and commonalities across the dataset to be identified and
260 established into themes (Braun and Clark, 2006). In the present study, an
261 interpretivist position was taken.

262 Development of coding and themes were guided by the data using a semantic
263 and inductive process, following the 15-point checklist of TA (Braun and Clarke,
264 2006), with data stored in a locked cabinet on university premises. Participants were
265 offered the opportunity to review their transcripts prior to analysis. Reflections and
266 notes were made following each interview by the first author (*LEB*), providing deeper
267 context and opportunity for identifying researcher bias (Phillippi and Lauderdale,
268 2018). Initial hand coding was completed by *LEB* to allow for data familiarisation,
269 with all authors coding a sample of transcripts, establishing rigour and analyst
270 triangulation (Barusch et al, 2011; Noble and Heale, 2019). Any discrepancies were
271 resolved in team meetings, facilitating a greater level of understanding (Joffe, 2012),

272 resulting in final theme establishment with agreement from all team members. A
273 simultaneous process for coding and analysis was followed. The consolidated
274 criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ) were used in the present article to
275 provide a structured account of the qualitative process (Tong et al, 2007).

276

277 **Results**

278 Participants explored their experiences as carers and care workers in rich detail,
279 offering differing perspectives with regard to what being a carer meant for them and
280 how they offered support within their role. Reflections of personal development
281 during their journeys as supporters, with experience and understanding of SH often
282 growing along the way, were commonly discussed. Key similarities and differences
283 in perceptions of the impact of the caring role and experiences of accessing and
284 offering support for university students was highlighted. Four main themes were
285 identified, with two corresponding sub-themes (see Figure 1).

286

287 **Figure 1**

288 *Overarching themes and subthemes*

289 *Insert Figure 1 here*

290

291 ***The diverse role of a supporter: "I supported her in so many different ways"***

292 All participants reflected on what their 'role' in providing support for SH involved, with
293 the majority highlighting the significance of being present and listening.

294 Understanding and sense-making of being a carer were shaped by their personal
295 experiences of, or knowledge about, SH. Care workers and carers frequently

296 described offering practical support for the individual engaging in SH, however the
297 ways in which they did this and reasons for doing so differed between these groups.

298 Charles, who had supported his housemate at university, expressed a sense of
299 helplessness due to not knowing what his friend needed. As a result, he described
300 doing what he would personally find helpful, taking on a '*parental role*', often cooking
301 and helping them with day-to-day activities, e.g., getting to university. Karen, a
302 parent supporter, commented on the challenge of adjusting when her daughter
303 moved away to university, with her usual ways of caring (e.g., giving lifts and making
304 dinner) no longer being possible:

305

306 When she first moved away, we were worried ... you know, I was concerned
307 as I couldn't do the usual things I would do to take care of her, she was
308 moving six hours away ... it's almost like a different world when they are away
309 at Uni.

310

311 The need to keep the individual safe and promote recovery was frequently
312 mentioned by participants and for carers this sometimes involved accompanying
313 them to medical appointments and emergency departments: "*I feel I supported her in
314 so many different ways and really pushed her to get better, like I took her to A&E a
315 few times.*" (Kathryn, friend). For others, this related to encouraging support-seeking;
316 success was mixed, however.

317 If the individual did not feel ready to access support services, carers felt unsure
318 about what to do: "*She didn't want to get help, and I just felt like I didn't know what
319 more I could do, or where to go next.*" (Ruby, friend/personal SH). Several friends
320 and family members described relief when the individual was able to access

321 professional support due to others being aware of the individual's SH. In contrast,
322 others felt '*pushed out*' due to a lack of awareness of what was being discussed and
323 limited recognition of the impact this also had on them:

324

325 ...my mum said that the first session she went to with my sister, they weren't
326 helpful at all. They seemed really unempathetic. Like not heard and feeling
327 like they didn't understand. They said to my mum that she couldn't be
328 included... (Neyo, sibling)

329 Conversely, Naomi had experienced joining her friend for several counselling
330 sessions which she felt had been a helpful and a positive experience for them both,
331 allowing her friend to "*openly talk about all her problems*".

332 For care workers, the set-up of university support services impacted the way they
333 discussed their role, particularly the extent to which further support could be offered.
334 Due to limited resources and funding, several professionals mainly conducted
335 assessments and signposted to other services. Madison reflected that because of
336 this, her role felt more about "*prevention as opposed to directly curing*". For others,
337 mainly university counsellors, their role was to provide longer-term therapeutic
338 support over numerous sessions. Mike worked as a university mental health advisor,
339 signposting students to external services. He explained this was more common for
340 those experiencing SH due to limited counselling capacity for '*risky*' students. This
341 led to him advocating for increased support within the university for these individuals.
342 However, when taking on a caring role for his housemate, this was about distraction
343 and spending time with them:

344

345 ...even driving around for half an hour, forty minutes, and just chatting about
346 crap is actually really helpful for her. And like coming home she was saying
347 how she felt so much better...

348

349 ***The impact of providing support: “What about me?”***

350 Negative impacts resulting from providing care were commonplace, particularly
351 related to participants’ health and well-being, and to their social and personal lives.
352 Some professional care workers reported feeling overwhelmed due to the lack of
353 resources and demands of the role (e.g., small teams caring for many students),
354 impacting their physical and mental health:

355

356 ...I mean, really, really challenging. I had some time off sick at Christmas
357 because I was just done. I just couldn’t safely see anyone. I couldn’t sleep, I
358 couldn’t eat, I was just exhausted ... (Julia, university counsellor)

359

360 Managing the uncertainty and flexibility required (e.g., finishing work late) was often
361 detrimental for carers and care workers in relation to their social lives and
362 relationships with friends and family. Lydia (university counsellor) described feeling
363 *“tired and emotionally drained”* at the end of most days, preventing her from playing
364 with her children and struggling to engage in conversation with her partner. Most
365 carer groups mentioned feelings of shame and guilt. For professionals, this related to
366 not wanting to let their colleagues or students down, whereas for carers, it was about
367 wanting space and time for themselves:

368

369 ..there's that immense feeling of guilt that I can't do more. And there have
370 been times when I've wanted to leave the house in order to like to spend time
371 with some other friends who are my support...but I always feel guilty.. (Mike,
372 professional and friend).

373

374 When these feelings arose, establishing boundaries was considered crucial, acting
375 as a source of protection for their own well-being. Josephine (university counsellor)
376 explained that while the role impacts upon her to an extent, including missing
377 lunchbreaks and experiencing stress during the working day, she had learned to
378 *"develop ways of keeping working and home as separate as I can"*, such as not
379 taking her work laptop home.

380 The ability to establish boundaries was more challenging for those living with the
381 individual (i.e., carers), who expressed a sense that physical proximity can mirror
382 emotional distance. This led to a conflict between wanting to help the individual while
383 recognising the need to protect their own well-being by creating distance, a common
384 theme for all friends and family. For Molly (friend), this resulted in her ending the
385 friendship entirely: *"I got to the point where I just couldn't have that in my life*
386 *anymore."* Others felt the supportive relationship was one-directional, with Katherine
387 (friend) sharing:

388

389 The main thing is that you're providing support to somebody, but then you
390 don't necessarily get that support back for yourself. And you feel a bit like your
391 problems aren't as bad as somebody else's. So, then you feel like you can't
392 share those things with them because they already have their own things
393 going on.

394

395 Several carers, specifically those with personal experience of SH, found their
396 caring role a cathartic experience, offering *'relatability'* and *'true understanding'*. This
397 however presented difficulties in relation to triggering their own SH due to discussing
398 difficult emotions and experiences. Leah explained that she'd often feel like a
399 *'hypocrite'* as she wouldn't follow the advice she'd given to her friend when in those
400 *'dark places'*.

401

402 ***Caring for the carer: "There just needs to be so much more"***

403 Most participants discussed needing support for their own well-being, as well as
404 greater knowledge of SH and a desire to connect with others in similar roles and
405 positions. The findings relating to the wider theme of carers' needs are presented
406 below across two subthemes.

407

408 ***"Knowledge is power"***

409 At the beginning of their careers, some professionals felt unprepared to support
410 students with SH due to limited training. Further, some recalled stigma arising from
411 senior colleagues' attitudes towards those who self-harmed, meaning SH was not
412 discussed with trainees and junior care workers. When reflecting on their current
413 insight into SH, several care workers felt that, even if they had discussed SH with
414 senior colleagues, this would probably have resulted in an inaccurate perception of
415 SH, due to many believing SH was simply *'attention-seeking'*. Claudine (university
416 GP) shared: *"when I was a foundation doctor in A&E, no one paid people presenting
417 with SH any compassion. I even remember my consultant telling me to ignore them,*

418 *so they'd stop coming in*". For professionals in the present study, understanding of
419 SH often developed once working directly with SH:

420

421 I think my way of managing it then and supporting people was probably quite
422 different then to what it is now - or hopefully, anyway. (Eliza, mental health
423 advisor).

424

425 The need for more resources and information relating to SH was considered crucial
426 when responding to distress and providing support for SH, particularly among carers
427 with no personal experience of SH. Gaps in their knowledge about SH, for example,
428 the reasons why individuals may SH, what to say, or how to respond and when to
429 seek medical attention, were a real challenge. Most said more information and
430 resources specifically aimed at those in *'informal'* caring roles would be particularly
431 helpful, as they would potentially encourage those who SH to speak more openly:

432

433 I definitely did not have enough knowledge at all ... you automatically think
434 that when someone is cutting themselves that they are trying to end their life
435 If people do know about it, that would help people supporting, and also
436 help people say if they are doing it. (Naomi, friend)

437

438 Professional care workers also discussed the importance of information and
439 knowledge. Lydia (university counsellor) felt that a basic understanding of SH had
440 enabled her to empathise with what the student may be experiencing (e.g., *'distress'*
441 or *'feeling numb'*). Jenny (mental health advisor) noted the need for training to focus

442 on 'squashing' stereotypes (including the common belief that individuals SH because
443 of wanting to end their lives) and the need to recognise the diversity of SH:

444

445 So learn the theory, learn the stereotypes, learn misconceptions, learn the
446 myths, learn what it actually looks like then, what are your solutions, what
447 are your strategies, what are your recommendations, what could you signpost
448 someone to, how do you have those conversations?

449

450 **Care for the self**

451 A desire for personal support due to the responsibilities and impacts of the caring
452 role was frequently mentioned. For family and friends, resources aimed specifically
453 at strategies for promoting their own well-being while caring for others who SH was
454 important. Existing provision was described as limited: "*I just think there needs to be*
455 *so much more ... one worksheet on looking after yourself isn't going to hack it.*" (Eva,
456 friend/personal SH). Several friends who were caring for other students at university
457 described a lack of awareness of how to access university support services,
458 questioning its usefulness:

459

460 ...there would be advertisements for mental health and stuff in the uni, but
461 like, where do I actually go to talk to someone? Is it actually going to be of any
462 use to me? (Molly, friend)

463

464 Neyo (sibling) felt that offering different platforms for support, including face-to-face,
465 apps and websites may promote help-seeking, with less invasive platforms (e.g.,
466 apps) feeling more accessible, particularly initially. Professional care workers

467 discussed their support needs mainly in relation to personal and well-being support
468 for their role, given the demands of working in a university setting. Julia (university
469 counsellor) suggested that building 'rest days' into her job plan would help to
470 manage this and prevent future sicknesses and absence. While peer support and
471 supervision were felt to be particularly useful, provision was inconsistent and
472 appeared to be dictated by service structure (i.e., leadership priorities and larger
473 staffing teams). Several professionals reflected that space for sharing new ideas and
474 research with others working in similar areas would be valuable:

475

476 I think time as a group would be really helpful, to have that space. I remember
477 once myself and my colleague had the chance to attend a conference and we
478 learnt so much, it was absolutely amazing. (Jenny, mental health advisor).

479

480 ***A supporters' perspective to accessing support during university: "Students***
481 ***are falling through the cracks"***

482 Based on their caregiving experiences, participants offered unique perspectives on
483 how support systems and services are structured in universities. Many felt adequate
484 services for students were lacking, citing limited sessions, staffing shortages and an
485 over-reliance on external support. This presented common challenges, with services
486 often not accepting university referrals due to students not meeting service criteria in
487 terms of severity. Several supporters said this resulted in students not receiving the
488 support they need:

489

490 It's like the people who are in too much of a crisis, to only be seen once a
491 week for six or twelve sessions, they aren't unwell enough to be sectioned or

492 to go to a crisis unit or anything, they really fall through the cracks There is
493 a lack of resources for those people who just need a bit more support. (Zoey,
494 university counsellor).

495

496 Professional care workers shared insights into how student support services are set
497 up, highlighting differences between institutions with regard to who students could
498 approach for support, the level of support available (e.g., number of sessions) and
499 divergence in referral systems and steps involved in accessing support (e.g.,
500 referrals and assessments). Several student carers felt that awareness of support
501 provision at university was insufficient, with advertised services only available at
502 specific times (e.g., mental health weeks), making it difficult for student carers to
503 navigate and signpost their friends. In addition, those with personal experience of SH
504 offered a distinct perspective on their encounters in using these systems. Maya
505 (friend/personal SH) described the requirement to share sensitive information with
506 multiple people: *"...you're having to tell all these people your problems and what
507 support you need ... you don't want to have to deal with all those steps to getting
508 eventually to the support."*

509

510 Timely access to appropriate support was thought to be influenced by the
511 individual with whom the student chose to discuss their SH. Several supporters,
512 including professionals and friends, described students initially approaching course
513 staff (e.g., lecturers) due to a sense of familiarity. However, some professional care
514 workers were apprehensive about understanding of SH amongst lecturers and
515 tutors:

516

517 They develop a warmer relationship with one of their lecturers, and that will be
518 the first person they go to in some cases; we had some inappropriate
519 responses and that really shut the student down which just exacerbates
520 the problem. (Laurence, university counsellor).

521

522 Several supporters offered suggestions about what was needed to bridge this gap.
523 Claudine (university GP) commented ...*"I mean I completely believe that we need to*
524 *have a standardised approach to support for students."* She also noted, however,
525 that these issues can be hard to address due to funding challenges and regular
526 changes in service structures. Most professionals discussed the need for clearer
527 communication between services, either within the university, or more generally in
528 the community, and that recognition from senior levels within institutions is needed:

529

530 Whether it's about self-harming, suicidal ideation or so on ... communicating
531 that this isn't something to be ashamed of at an institutional level would carry
532 a lot of weight. (Julia, university counsellor).

533

534 Based on their experiences, friends and family offered less service-related insight,
535 instead suggesting greater awareness of resources available to students before
536 arriving at university, with a clearer pathway on where to access support. Those with
537 personal experience of SH shared first-hand accounts of the difficulty in knowing
538 where to go for help, speaking about having to *'jump through hoops'* due to services
539 being *'disjointed'*. There was a consensus that addressing these gaps would have a
540 positive impact both on the health and well-being of students who SH, and for those
541 offering 'informal' and 'professional' care.

542

543 **Discussion**

544 The findings of this study provide a nuanced, context-specific, understanding of the
545 experiences of those providing care for university students who SH. A broad
546 spectrum of care for SH was explored, revealing distinct groups of caregivers within
547 a university setting: professional care workers (e.g., counsellors, well-being advisors,
548 GPs); carers (e.g., friends/family with and without personal experiences of SH). Our
549 research offers a unique perspective on the challenges faced: limited staffing and
550 opportunities for networking; inability to establish boundaries (living with the
551 individual, working longer hours than contracted); and inadequate training and
552 information specific to SH, with negative impacts on the well-being of professional
553 care workers and carers (burnout, guilt). Participants seem to agree that knowledge
554 and understanding of SH developed over time and through experience. The need for
555 greater awareness of SH, particularly among academic staff outside of formal
556 support pathways (lecturers, personal tutors), more training and awareness earlier in
557 professional careers, and better availability of information for friends and families
558 during their journey as a carer, was highlighted. Limitations and challenges of
559 student support provision, including limited number of sessions and difficulties with
560 referrals, require increased attention at an institutional level.

561 To provide effective support for others, individuals need to practise self-care and
562 ensure emotional availability (Glass and Rose, 2008). Most care workers/carers
563 spoke about a range of negative impacts on their well-being resulting from providing
564 support (reduced sleep and eating, social withdrawal). Previous research has
565 highlighted that carers and care workers face heightened emotional demands,
566 leading to increased stress and higher risk of burnout (Shah et al, 2010; Simpson et

567 al, 2019; Sin et al, 2021). Similar experiences in the present study may be indicative
568 of compassion fatigue and empathic distress, which is commonly experienced
569 among healthcare professionals and carers providing regular support for those in
570 distress (Figley, 2002), with negative physical and emotional impacts for carers and
571 those cared-for (Lombardo and Eyre, 2010; Smith, 2015; Hall et al, 2016). In some
572 studies, women report greater empathic distress than men (Smith and Rose, 2011),
573 perhaps reflecting the higher proportion of female participants in the presented
574 study. Research with a larger sample of male carers is needed to examine this
575 further.

576 The additional impact of the caring role reported by carers and care workers,
577 including cancelling social events and less time to complete university work, has also
578 been found in research on young adult student carers (Sempik and Becker, 2014)
579 and may be understood in the context of existing theoretical models. The
580 transactional model of stress suggests that those with limited social support and
581 coping strategies are at greater risk of experiencing negative impacts on physical
582 and psychological health (Murfield et al, 2019). Most carers described behaviours
583 and feelings indicative of high levels of compassion (feelings of concern, desire and
584 motivation to help). As those they were caring for were experiencing high levels of
585 distress and engaging in SH, this may have been interpreted as limited reduction of
586 suffering among those cared for. In line with expectations based on the caregiver
587 suffering-compassion model (Shultz et al, 2007; 2017), this would increase the
588 likelihood of empathic distress, in which the carer takes on the individual's distress
589 as their own (Smith and Rose, 2011). These findings may be best understood in the
590 context of a carer 'cycle'. Carers in our study who described taking direct
591 responsibility for the care of another's SH (presenting to A&E, taking them out for a

592 drive) often experienced a reduction in their own well-being if, despite their efforts,
593 the SH continued. The close proximity and shared environments of some university
594 carers, particularly friends (who described greater difficulty establishing boundaries
595 and maintaining personal space) and that many are young adults perhaps still
596 developing their own emotional regulation strategies, our findings may indicate an
597 increased risk of empathetic distress among these carers (Powell, 2018). This may
598 explain why professional care workers reported less personal impact arising from
599 continued SH as they could more easily establish distance and could access more
600 advanced training and supervision to address their own emotional distress. Further,
601 non-suicidal ideations and behaviours such as SH are more likely to occur when an
602 individual has increased need for emotion regulation (Kranzler et al, 2018), which
603 may explain why some carers experienced their caring role as triggering their own
604 SH. Our findings suggest that greater resources aimed at increasing self-care and
605 employing strategies for managing guilt, burnout and worry for all individuals caring
606 for students are required. One method may include compassion-focused
607 interventions - previous evidence supports a reduction in feelings of guilt and shame
608 (Sirois et al, 2019) – perhaps warranting further research exploring use of these
609 methods in a university setting.

610 In the UK, 'talking therapy' has been identified as an NHS 'blind spot' due to
611 inconsistent waiting times (Cooper, 2018) and private counselling is estimated to
612 cost £10-£70 per session (NHS UK, 2021). Previous research has reported that
613 anxiety, depression and poor quality of life increase with treatment waiting times for
614 patients and carers (Reichert and Jacobs, 2018; Gagliardi et al, 2021). Further,
615 professional care workers in these systems are under increasing pressure, due to
616 extended waiting lists and demand, to evidence the effectiveness of the services

617 they provide (Randall and Bewick, 2016). This may offer insight into the increasing
618 pressures on carers and care workers reported in the present study, with limited
619 services and barriers to access commonly discussed.

620 While these factors impact carers' well-being, they may also deter carers from
621 accessing their own support. Burnout acts as a barrier to help-seeking among
622 professionals (Bearse et al, 2013), with lack of time and fear of leaving the individual
623 identified for carers (Ingleton et al, 2003; Fisker and Strandmark, 2007). When
624 exploring experiences of young student adult carers, almost half reported difficulties
625 with their own mental health. Despite this, most were not accessing support due to
626 feeling their difficulties were not recognised by their universities / colleges (Sempik
627 and Becker, 2014). Increased service provision for student mental health would allow
628 for greater student support, and also have potential to reduce negative impacts on
629 those in supportive roles.

630 A more nuanced finding in the current study was the challenge of supporting SH
631 specifically. Many care workers and carers experienced fear and worry about what to
632 say and how to respond, often related to limited training and information specific to
633 SH. These findings echo that of existing research among those providing support for
634 SH, emphasising the role of educational settings in enhancing knowledge of SH and
635 the need for more open dialogue to promote help-seeking (Hall and Melia, 2022;
636 Reichardt, 2016). This appeared to be more manageable for experienced care
637 workers and carers with personal experiences of SH, with relatability and a deeper
638 understanding having a cathartic role. This lends support to previous findings
639 exploring self-help groups for SH, with attendees reporting that the non-judgemental
640 space with peers was a positive experience, reducing isolation and providing a safe
641 setting for understanding and managing their SH (Boyce et al, 2018). Further

642 research exploring whether similar initiatives would help the student population, and
643 how they could be adapted (e.g., online) would be valuable.

644 Due to working in small teams, and/or in a specific university, opportunities to
645 connect with others working in similar settings and sharing of resources, was lacking
646 for some university care workers. Despite this, the majority felt this would be helpful,
647 providing space to learn from others and promoting collaboration. Research
648 conducted among schoolteachers found that those with little opportunity to interact
649 with other professionals in their area often felt isolated (Kim et al, 2017), leading to
650 burnout and poor job satisfaction, consequently impacting on student achievement
651 (Cooper and Alvarado, 2006; Johnson et al, 2012). When strategies to encourage
652 collaboration have been introduced, positive impacts on teacher and student well-
653 being and satisfaction have been reported (Jackson, 2013). While differences
654 between school and university settings are acknowledged, both at an individual and
655 systemic level, a more standardised approach to student support and greater
656 opportunities for professional networking may promote staff well-being, as well as
657 increased satisfaction among students about the support available to them while at
658 university.

659 Greater awareness among all university staff of mental health and SH specifically
660 has been called for (Oliver et al, 2016). Our findings provide further evidence of
661 students disclosing to tutors, with carers and care workers sharing accounts of
662 negative reactions (e.g., dismissal) when the individual they cared for disclosed their
663 SH. This has also been highlighted in research exploring suicidality among doctoral
664 researchers, reporting supervisors and university staff were ill-prepared and 'freaked
665 out' when discussing suicide (Hazell et al, 2021). Addressing this knowledge gap is
666 important, given that response at disclosure is particularly influential on future

667 support-seeking, specifically for those perceiving stigma, which is common among
668 those who SH (Williams and Mickelson, 2008). Further, students have also
669 suggested that if lecturers and tutors were more approachable and acknowledged
670 the difficulties experienced at university, this would positively impact on their well-
671 being (Baik et al, 2019). In the current study, some professional care workers
672 reported delivering mental health training, with a specific focus on SH and suicide
673 awareness, to both students and staff at their university to address this. Greater
674 understanding is needed of how, if at all, this lack of knowledge is being addressed
675 in universities. Hughes and Byrom (2019) explored academics' experiences of
676 managing student mental health, identifying key difficulties as boundaries,
677 responsibility and competence, in a study focused on staff teaching healthcare
678 courses. Further research, in varied academic disciplines, exploring the views and
679 experiences of lecturers and personal tutors regarding disclosure of mental health
680 difficulties, especially SH, would help establish how far they may also present as a
681 unique group of carers in the university context.

682 Our findings relate to an often overlooked group of non-identified potential carers
683 who are crucial in supporting university students. Previous literature has defined
684 non-identified potential carers and young adult carers as aged 15-24 years (Becker
685 and Becker, 2008; Hill et al, 2009), but it may be beneficial to adapt this definition to
686 ensure recognition of the full breadth of carers in university contexts. Carers in this
687 study were often attending university themselves, managing their own personal lives
688 and academic demands alongside their caring role; some also had personal
689 experiences of SH. This group commonly described 'just being there' for the
690 individual and 'listening' to their concerns, viewing their support as part of their
691 relationship and/or friendship. These relationships have been recognised as

692 significant by students engaging in SH, allowing them to feel 'cared for', a factor in
693 reducing their SH (Edwards-Bailey et al, 2022). This vital role of unpaid care
694 alongside the demands of university life builds on previous work with young adult
695 carers at college and university (Sempik and Becker, 2014) that called for increased
696 provisions to support this "hidden army" of university carers. Our findings suggest
697 further exploration of different forms of caregiving, and how these may impact the
698 mental health and well-being of student carers is warranted, on a wider scale, and
699 may be crucial in the context of rising rates of poor mental health among university
700 students (Kumaraswamy, 2013; Duffy et al, 2019), established links between caring
701 with depression (Pinquart and Sörensen, 2003; Geng et al, 2018) and limited help-
702 seeking among this group (Sempik and Becker, 2014).

703

704 **Implications**

705 These findings have important implications for carers and professional care workers
706 in universities, as well as for students engaging in SH. While some participants
707 reported negative impacts on their own wellbeing and issues with the support
708 available, not only to those they cared for, but also for themselves, these
709 experiences suggest ways in which universities and organisations can focus their
710 attention. Supporting students experiencing difficulties with their mental health and
711 additional comorbid behaviours such as SH is crucial, however. Our findings
712 emphasise the need for supportive resources aimed specifically at those in caring
713 roles. Those from differing backgrounds and experiences will likely benefit from
714 tailored interventions (e.g., information about SH, establishing boundaries and
715 promoting self-care at home/in the workplace), which should be adapted to the
716 needs of different groups of carers in a university context. It is also important to

717 recognise that not all individuals may identify as a carer, and greater
718 acknowledgement and normalisation of needing support when providing care is
719 warranted. Findings of the current study have influenced the development of a
720 website aimed at those caring for student SH in higher education (Cherish Support,
721 2020). Additionally, recognition and attention at institutional and stakeholder level are
722 required; this can include promoting conversations about SH, more resources for
723 university-wide SH and suicide awareness training, and greater provision of student
724 and staff support.

725

726 **Limitations**

727 Most of the interviews conducted for this study took place via telephone. The
728 absence of visual cues can affect the richness of the data collected (Novick, 2008).
729 The team compared the transcripts of interviews conducted face-to-face and by
730 telephone and found no major differences in the depth of data collected (Sturges and
731 Hanrahan, 2004). As we aimed to collect data from a diverse sample across the UK,
732 use of telephone and skype interviews enabled broader participation than would
733 have been possible with face-to-face interviews.

734 The authors also acknowledge that since the study was conducted, support
735 systems may have altered within universities, both prior to and after the COVID-19
736 pandemic. The pandemic has significantly affected how universities in the UK and
737 worldwide are set up. This has included adjustments to online learning, with many
738 students unable to socialise or access face-to-face support. Global research on the
739 impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on student mental health continues to emerge,
740 revealing negative impacts on students' emotional and behavioural functioning (Cao
741 et al, 2020; Copeland et al, 2021). Negative health impacts on carers have also been

742 documented among those caring for family members with mental health difficulties
743 (Clark Bryan et al, 2020; Tuijt et al, 2021). Some of the experiences discussed in this
744 study require further exploration in the context of COVID-19 and university life,
745 including the significance of living with someone who may be engaging in SH, or
746 living at a distance and being unable to visit or see loved ones for long periods (e.g.,
747 during lockdowns). Many care workers have been providing support from their
748 homes and/or via online means, and research has yet to understand how this may
749 have impacted care workers' well-being, ability to establish boundaries and social
750 support. As the world continues to respond and monitor the pandemic, its
751 significance for these groups of carers and care workers, as well as for students who
752 SH, requires ongoing attention.

753

754 **Conclusions**

755 These findings highlight the diversity of carers and professional care workers within a
756 university context often consisting of a spectrum of individuals, from friends and
757 family to healthcare professionals and well-being advisors, within and outside
758 university settings (e.g., parents at home vs friends living with the individual). This
759 multifaceted dynamic presented challenges in accessing and delivering student care,
760 but highlighted the differing needs and shared experiences of those in university
761 caring roles. Coherent pathways for student support are vital to ensure those in need
762 of care can access it without delay or the risk of being missed by services. Greater
763 information around SH, recognition of the impact of the role and of those who may
764 be offering care in a university setting, as well as increased opportunities for
765 networking and sharing experiences of providing support are suggested.

766

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