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# **BMJ Open**

Family Refusal of eye tissue donation from solid organ donors – a retrospective analysis of summary and free-text data from the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Services (NHS-BT) National Referral Centre (1st April 2014 – 31st March 2017).

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Family Refusal of eye tissue donation from solid organ donors – a retrospective analysis of summary and free-text data from the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Services (NHS-BT) National Referral Centre (1st April 2014 – 31st March 2017).

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#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** There is a long-standing undersupply of eye tissue in the UK and globally, and the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Service (NHSBT) has called for further research exploring barriers to eye donation. This study aims to: I) describe reported reasons for non-donation of eye tissue from solid organ donors in the UK between 1st April 2014–31st March 2017; II) discuss these findings with respect to existing theories relating to non-donation of eyes by family members.

**Design:** Mixed methods review of national secondary data set covering reasons for non-donation of eyes recorded by Specialist Nurses in Organ Donation (SNODs) for 2790 potential solid organ donors. Application of qualitative content analysis to free-text data for 126 recorded cases of family decline of eye donation.

**Setting:** National data set covering solid organ donation (secondary care).

Participants: 2790 potential donors assessed for eligibility to donate eyes between 1st April 2014 and 31st March 2017.

**Results**: Reasons for non-retrieval of eyes were recorded as: family wishes (n=1339, 48% of total cases); medical reasons (n=841, 30%); deceased wishes (n=180, 7%). In over 50% of recorded cases, reasons for non-donation were based on family or deceased wishes (reasons known or unknown). Further analysis of free-text data identifies and explores sub-groups within each category. Findings are discussed with respect to existing theoretical perspectives.

**Conclusion**: Eye donation processes involve distinct psychological and socio-cultural factors for both families and HCPs that have yet to be fully explored in research or integrated into service design. We suggest the following areas for future research and service development attention: the potential of a disc-only corneal retrieval procedure to increase donation acceptance; public education regarding donation processes; exploration of how request processes affect acceptance of corneal donation; procedures for assessment of familial responses to information provided during the consent conversation.

Keywords: cornea, tissue donation, consent, eye banking, refusal

# Strengths and limitations of this study

- Mixed methods review of national secondary data set covering reasons for non-donation of eyes recorded by Specialist Nurses in Organ Donation (SNODs) for 2790 potential solid organ donors in the UK.
- Application of qualitative content analysis to free-text data for 126 recorded cases of family decline of eye
  donation, with findings discussed in relation to existing theoretical perspectives to identify areas for further
  research and service development.
- Data generated by SNODs and therefore reflect a mixture of direct observations and interpretations of both spoken responses and other communicative behaviours.
- Level of detail provided in the free-text comments constrained by response format (i.e. a hand-written box) limiting the amount of information that SNODs could insert.

#### **Background**

Globally, 53% of the world's population has no access to the benefits of sight saving and sight restoring transplantation surgery due to a short fall in the supply of ophthalmic tissue (cornea and sclera) that is only available via eye donation [1]. According to Pascolini et al (2010) over 10 million people worldwide have bilateral corneal blindness which could be restored with a corneal transplant [1]. According to the Royal National Institute of Blind (RNIB) over two million people in the UK are living with sight loss [2] caused by conditions such as Keratoconus and Fuchs' Corneal Dystrophy that can be treated if eye tissue is available (e.g. by corneal transplantation and reconstructive surgery). Eye tissue is also needed for research into a wide variety of eye diseases, for example endothelial failure post cataract surgery [3]. The RNIB report that approximately 5,000 corneal transplants are required annually in the UK to address disease and injury resulting in sight loss, with costs to the UK economy (unpaid carer burden and reduced employment rates) reported as £4.34 billion annually [2]. Critically, the organisation predicts predicted that by 2050 the number of people with sight loss will double to nearly four million [2]. It is therefore imperative that the tissue needed to intervene in these conditions via corneal transplantation, reconstructive surgery, glaucoma surgery, and research into the causes and treatment of eye disease is available

However, there is a long-standing shortfall in supply of eye tissue in the UK and globally, with eyes being the least donated of all organs and tissues when decision makers are offered a 'list' that they need to agree to that can be retrieved for use in transplantation (n.b. as eyes are referred to as both organs and tissues in different contexts, we will refer to them as organs from here on) [4,5]. The UK National Health Services Blood and Transplant (NHSBT) Eye Bank in Speke, Liverpool and Bristol (who supply most eye tissue used for surgical purposes in the UK) seeks to have 10 eye donors per day consistently to satisfy demand for the treatment of patients. This number is not consistently met.

Increasing supply is a key strategic aim for NHSBT Tissue and Eye Services Division [6] and they, along with the UK Royal College of Ophthalmology (RCO) [7], have expressed a need for research exploring barriers to eye donation. This knowledge is needed not only as a basis for developing new routes to supply, but also to inform guidance underpinning donation conversations with family members who are approached to consider the option of eye donation. Increasing supply requires understanding of how patients and families relate to eye tissue donation (i.e. attitudes, beliefs, information needs etc.) and how these processes shape donation outcomes, specifically family members declining eye donation.

Eye donation from solid organ donors continues to prove problematic, with slow progress in increasing supply from this specific cohort of donors. For example, eye donation from solid organ donors generated 320 eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2016 (4), and 446 eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2019 to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2020 [5]. As evidence reports that nationally on average only 40% (range 31-64%) of next-of-kin (NoK) agree to eye donation when approached to consider solid organ donation (4) whilst 67% of NoK agree to solid organ donation, what contributes to this difference is an important area for review.

In this paper we aim to contribute to the knowledge base around non-donation of eye tissue from solid organ donors by reporting, for the first time, national clinical data collected and provided by NHS Blood and Transplant between 2014–2017, aligned with key theoretical perspectives reported to explain donating behaviours. This body of work from the past 30 years will advance knowledge and understanding of the reasons why of all organs and tissues that can be donated eyes remain the least donated organ [4,5].

# **Study objectives:**

- i. Describe the reported reasons why eye donation did not take place from solid organ donors in the UK between
   1st April 2014 31st March 2017.
- ii. Discuss these findings in the context of existing theoretical perspectives relating to non-donation of eyes by family members

#### Study design

To gain further insight into the factors leading to low numbers of eyes being secured from solid organ donation, a working party (Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017) was convened with the remit to: plan and action an effective response to demand and supply problems, make evidence-based recommendations to NHSBT and external stakeholders regarding potential service improvements that would impact on the current low supply of eye tissue.

# Ethical approval

Ethical approval was not sought for the study as this was an analysis of anonymised secondary data, released to the study team by NHSBT under a UK Transplant Registry Data Release agreement relating to UK General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) 2018, the UK Data Protection Act 2018, the UK Human Rights Act 1998, and the UK Common Law Duty of Confidentiality.

#### Patient and Public involvement

It was not appropriate or possible to involve patients or the public in the design, or conduct, or reporting, or dissemination plans of our research, due to the anonymity of participants and conditions of the data release agreement.

#### **Data collection**

Data for 2790 potential donors from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, assessed for eligibility to donate eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017, were collected using a standardised proforma. Specialist Nurses in Organ Donation (SNODs) were requested to record the key domain (Textbox 1) for non-procurement of eye tissue and asked to add further commentary via use of a free-text box. Data was gathered by SNODs with the requirement that they complete data collection for each potential donor following the discussion with family members, and other stakeholders (e.g. coroner). Data for each SNOD were collated into a monthly regional team return to the NHSBT

statistical team, who generated descriptive statistical data reported in this paper. Following synthesis of all data reasons for decline with key domains were numerically labelled: *medical reasons* (117), *coroner reasons* (107), *family discussions* (87 & 88), and a catch-all category termed *all other reasons* (197/198) (Textbox 1). Data were collected over three years, with a cessation in 2018 due to the operationalisation of eye donation moving from the Organ Donation and Transplant division of NHSBT to its Tissue and Eye Services division. The full data set relating to non-procurement of eye tissue is presented in *Additional File*, *Table 1* – however this paper focuses on data relating specifically to *family decline of eye donation*.

Textbox 1 – Domains/sub-domains inviting a free-text comment

Sub-domain
117-Other medical reasons, please specify
198-Not specified
197-Other reasons, please specify
88-Family, not specified
87-Family other reasons, please specify
107-Other coroner reasons, please specify

#### **Analysis**

Analysis included generation of descriptive statistics on reasons for non-donation of eyes recorded by SNODs for 2790 potential donors (Table 1) and application of qualitative content analysis to free-text data for 126 recorded reasons for family decline of eye donation. Analysis of free-text data was undertaken using Nvivo computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software (version 12) [9].

As international empirical evidence from the past 30 years indicates, eye donation involves reactions that do not impact other forms of donation including: discomfort reactions [10,11], disfigurement [3], the belief that eyes will be needed in the afterlife, eyes being viewed as the 'windows to the soul' [3,6], as well as disgust-related aversion ('yuk'/'ick factor') findings from this national dataset have been grouped under these headings.

The aim of this analytic process was to generate a descriptive analysis of data recording reasons for non-donation of eye tissue as reported by SNODs (Objective 1), and to underpin a theoretically informed discussion aimed at unpacking the key reasons why family members decline the option of eye donation when this is a valid option (i.e. no medical reasons for non-donation are evident) (Objective 2). By engaging with existing theory regarding donation decision making, this paper also aims to inform interventions that can lead to an increase in the donation of eye tissue for the use in transplant operations.

# **Descriptive statistics**

Reasons for non-donation of eye tissue (overview)

The data related to 2790 potential donors from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, assessed for eligibility to donate eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017, but from whom eye tissue was not retrieved (reporting periods cover UK financial year, see Table 1). The most common reasons for non-retrieval of eyes were: family wishes

(n=1339, 48% of total cases); medical reasons (n=841, 30%); deceased wishes (n=180, 7%); and coroner refusal (n=160, 6%), with 'All other reasons' accounting for n=212 (8%) of cases (reasons were not recorded in n=58 (2%) cases – see Table 1). The reporting in this paper will focus on data related to **family and deceased wishes** only as these contribute to over 50% of recorded reasons why eye donation did not proceed when donation discussions took place.

Table 1 – Summary of recorded reasons for non-donation of eye donation from solid organ donors for the period 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014-31<sup>st</sup> March 2017 (focus categories for this paper are shaded grey).

Period	Fam wisl	•	Med reas			eased shes		oner used		other isons	(Reasons recorde		тс	OTAL
renou														(% all
	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	years)
1 April 2014														
to 31														
March														
2015	450	0.54	242	0.27	60	0.00	<b>5</b> 4	0.06	<b>5</b> 0	0.06	26	0.00	000	0.22
4.0 "	452	0.51	242	0.27	68	0.08	51	0.06	53	0.06	26	0.03	892	0.32
1 April														
2015 to 31														
March														
2016	420	0.48	253	0.29	68	0.08	58	0.07	50	0.06	32	0.04	881	0.32
1 April				0.25		0.00		<u> </u>		0.00			332	0.02
2016														
to 31														
March														
2017	467	0.46	346	0.34	44	0.04	51	0.05	109	0.11	0	0	1017	0.36
All														
years	1339	0.48	841	0.3	180	0.07	160	0.06	212	0.08	58	0.02	2790	

Decline of eye donation based on family and deceased wishes

Where non-procurement of eye tissue was recorded under *Family wishes* (n=1339), the most common reasons related to disfigurement concerns (n=588, 44% of family decline), or 'personal views' about eye donation held by Next of Kin (NoK) (n=478, 36% - see Table 2).

For cases where non-procurement of eye tissue was recorded under *Deceased's wishes* (n=180 cases, 7% of total), 128 (71% of deceased wishes cases) were due to the fact that the deceased had registered (on the organ donor register which is always checked by SNODs in preparation for discussing donation options) that they did not want to donate eye tissue. A further 52 (29%) cases of non-procurement of eye tissue resulted from discussions with NoK where they stated that the deceased wish not to donate eyes was known to them – see Table 2.

Table 2 – Reasons for non-donation cases for eye tissue by category and major sub-category for the period 1st April 2014-31st March 2017.

Domain	Sub-domain	•	il 2014 to arch 2015		il 2015 to arch 2016		ril 2016 to arch 2017		All Years
Domain	Sub domain	Δ/	% of	۸,	% of	N	% of	N	% of oatogom.
	Decision made on	N	category	N	category	IV	category	//	% of category
	personal views	195	0.43	154	0.37	129	0.28	478	0.36
	Decision made on								
	disfigurement concerns	186	0.41	180	0.43	222	0.48	588	0.44
	Decision made on current								
Family	physical/emotional state	13	0.03	12	0.03	27	0.06	52	0.04
wishes	Decision made on								
Wishes	religious/cultural/spiritual								
	grounds	4	0.01	12	0.03	5	0.01	21	0.02
	Decision made on lack of								
	knowledge	N/A*	N/A*	2	0.00	1	0.00	3	0.00
	Other/not specified								
	family reasons**	54	0.12	60	0.14	83	0.18	197	0.15
	Decision based on								
Deceased	deceased prior registered								
wishes	wishes	54	0.79	50	0.74	24	0.55	128	0.71
WISHES	Decision based on								
	deceased inferred wishes	14	0.21	18	0.26	20	0.45	52	0.29

\*category was not included in data collection for this period.

Findings from analysis of free-text data (family decline)

Table 3 lists results of content analysis, showing all resulting categories of recorded reasons for family decline (n = 126). Of note is that in 65 cases (10%) of SNODs reporting 'family refused', 'No additional information' was recorded in the free-text comment box. For these cases, we therefore have no information on which to base any commentary regarding family decline. The findings and discussion are therefore related to the italicised categories in Table 3 (n=61 cases within this group).

<sup>\*\*</sup>Includes sub-domains inviting free-text comment (i.e. 'please specify')

Table 3 - Summary of free-text comments relating to reasons for family reasons of eye donation

Family Reasons Categories	Cases (n)*	Cases (% of n=126 cases with free-text comment relating to family reasons)
No additional information	65	0.52
Family uncomfortable with eye donation	22	0.17
Family reasons indicated but case not classified as either '88-Family, not specified' or '87-Family other		0.13
reasons, please specify'	17	
Consent for Solid organ donation but not eyes	10	0.08
Nothing 'visible' to be removed	7	0.06
Family withdrew initial consent	6	0.05
Family Infer Patient Wishes		
(e.g. NoK recorded as indicating deceased 'would not		
have wanted' eye donation)	3	0.02
Family refuse moving of body for retrieval	3	0.02
No ODR restrictions but family refuse eye donation	2	0.02
Family reasons due to religious reasons	2	0.02
Tendons only	1	0.01
Family wish to donate to scientific research	1	0.01
Family believed patient ineligible due to medical		0.01
contraindication	1	
Family member worried that they may inadvertently		
work with tissues in professional role in donated but		
not transplanted	1	0.01

<sup>\*</sup>Note: cases do not equal 126 as some can belong to more than one category (e.g. a comment could relate to both 'Consent for Solid organ donation but not eyes' and 'No ODR restrictions but family refuse eye donation')

# Findings from analysis of free-text comments

Cases are reported as a percentage of the 126 free text comments available relating to family refusal (% of n=126).

#### Discomfort reactions

For 22 cases (17%) free-text responses recorded by SNODs indicated family discomfort with eye donation. In addition to general expressions of discomfort with eye donation comments also referred to personal attachment to the eyes of the deceased, which influenced family decision making (examples Textbox 2).

Textbox 2. Recorded family comments relating to discomfort reactions to eye tissue donation.

Four brothers who had had discussion and all felt "funny" about eyes.

Family did not like the idea of eye donation.

Family reported they didn't like the idea of someone else seeing through their loved ones eyes'...

'Family did not want eyes removing as they felt they were part of her'

Family were very much against eye donation as they said they were "windows to the soul"

... eyes refused as wife couldn't bear the thought of him without them .

Partner believed the eyes were the window to the soul

#### Disfigurement concerns

Linked to discomfort reactions, concerns about disfiguring the body of the deceased was raised by seven family members (6%) with SNODS recording that family members only wanted solid organs to be retrieved. It is notable that comments include words and phrases such as 'nothing visible, 'external' 'outside' underlining that family members are concerned about how the body will look post donation (Textbox 3).

Textbox 3. Recorded family comments relating to disfigurement concerns.

This is how we saw him

Family did not like the thought of external surgery to the body other than through the initial operation site.

Family did not want anything "external" donated

Family did not want eye donation as not wanting anything visible

Family not wanting the face touching

Only wanted internal organs donated, nothing from the "outside"

## Solid organ only – not eye tissue!

As well as concerns about disfigurement and the reported wish that 'nothing visible be removed' in a further 10 cases (8%), family consent was recorded as being given for solid organs but declined for eyes. In Textbox 4, we see examples of differing decisions recorded for tissues (eyes are also referred to as tissues) and solid organs. Some comments record SNOD-perceived strength of feeling as a factor restricting further discussion about eye donation. Of note here is that we do not have evidence indicating on what basis the assessment about 'appropriateness is based, e.g. "Parents did not wish to donate anything other than liver and kidneys not appropriate to ask as risking loss of donation", or how much time was taken in this approach for donation. Higher consent/authorisation rates are reported when parents perceive that they have had adequate time to discuss donation within the family and with the healthcare team [12,13]. In one case, we see a priority invoked as the reason for decline, 'life saving organs only' suggesting that a value was being associated with different organ or tissues.

Textbox 4. Recorded family comments relating to reasons for eye tissue accompanying consent for solid organs.

[Family] did not want any tissue donation organs are enough.

Family did not want any tissue donation only solid organs

Family only wanted kidneys donated, no other reason given.

Family very uncomfortable with tissue donation and only wanted organs as they cannot be seen

Kidneys only would not discuss anything else

Life-saving organs only

On ODR no restrictions, partner consented to kidney only, nothing else.

Parents did not wish to donate anything other than liver and kidneys not appropriate to ask as risking loss of donation

Wife wanted solid organs only

Son certain he did not want to donate eyes, or any tissue. Was a very strong no to tissue and did not elaborate too much despite open questioning.

#### Change in decision-making

Six cases (5%) described initial consent for eye donation being provided by families which was later withdrawn (see Textbox 5). Comments suggest the potential influence of post decision dissonance (see discussing section) [14] and the impact of wider family views stimulating a reversal of the decision to agree to eye donation.

[Father] changed his mind after consent provided.

Even though partner consented initially, family wanted patient embalmed and wanted body home ASAP.

Family withdrew consent as needed quick release.

Family withdrew eye consent, reason not specified.

Initial consent provided for eyes and skin but then changed their mind, no reason given.

Parents consented for all tissues but withdrew consent whilst visiting him in Chapel of rest saying he had 'given enough' and they did not want him to be touched anymore

Textbox 5.

Recorded
family
comments
relating to a
change in
decision to
donate eyes.

#### Discussion

The data presented in this study indicate that the main reason for the non-procurement of eye tissue from solid organ donors in the UK is the decline of this option by bereaved family members. One thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine approaches for eye donation resulted in family decline, despite this being a valid donation option over the time period of data collection. Therefore, potentially, over 2,000 eyes did not become available for use in transplant operations and research into eye diseases resulting in loss of sight due to family decline.

This picture of potential donor eyes not becoming available in the context of solid organ donation is reflected in the global literature, with authors in the USA reporting that of 10,000 potential solid organ donors where a consent rate of 47% for organ donation was achieved, only 24% eye donation consent rate was achieved [15,16] reporting data from a survey carried out with 371 individuals renewing their driving licence in Sydney Australia, indicated that of the 369 participants who responded to the questions related to willingness to donate corneas 153 (41%) indicated that they would not donate their corneas. This reluctance for eye donation is not just reflected in Western contexts (e.g. Europe, North America, Australasia): for example, Acharya et al. (2019) surveyed 407 bereaved NoK of potential eye donors in Delhi (India), reporting that the majority 239 (59%) of NoK would decline eye donation [17]. Commentary from all three papers highlight concerns regarding disfigurement, discomfort with the thought of eye removal, and spiritual/atheistic links to the eyes.

The comments illustrated in textboxes 2-4 support the findings from international literature, that personal attitudes to and beliefs about the propriety of eye donation are influential in shaping negative orientations toward this option and thus to decline of donation when it is raised with NoK.

### How can we understand these reactions?

Concerns with, and negative reactions to the option of eye donation, as well as the critical shortage of eye tissue for use in transplant operations and research, are persistent and pervasive in the UK and across many other parts of the world. Therefore, we will now discuss these factors in light of theoretical work aimed at illuminating factors underpinning these outcomes. The discussion will look at theories developed from social cognitive psychology, which outline general concepts influencing behaviour, and more specific theories/models focussed on psychological concepts that propose explanations for the reactions reported both in this data and the wider global literature. Whilst an exhaustive review of relevant theory is not possible in this paper, we focus on application of key findings and thinking to the national recorded data with the aim of: I) making recommendations to guide communication with patients, carers or other NoK when making an approach regarding the option of eye donation; II) stimulating thinking on communications strategy (e.g. future publicity and campaigns) by organisations responsible for securing a reliable and sufficient supply of eye tissue.

## Social Cognitive models

Most early studies exploring factors influencing individual donation decision making applied concepts laid out in social-cognitive models such as the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) [18] and the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) [19,20].

Horton and Horton (1991) developed one of the earliest models proposing that the action of signing or requesting an organ donor card and willingness to donate own, or a deceased loved one's organs after death was a product of: *values, knowledge, attitudes (toward donation), willingness and action* [21]. Their path analysis and causal modelling study included two cohorts of participants: University students (N= 295), and members of the public (N = 465). Whilst establishing that the tested concepts were related to donation decision making, it was also clear from results that there was no linear causal relationship between knowledge, values, attitudes, willingness, and action related to donation behaviours [21]. Further modelling by Radecki and Jaccard (1999) identifying barriers to sharing donation intentions with legal next of kin supported the general finding that behavioural intention (or willingness) does not predict action [22].

This brief review reminds us that while prior attitudes toward a behaviour are influential, that they do not 'ensure' action will follow intention. Models such as TRA [18] and TPB [19,20] are fundamentally models that presume a process of rational decision making that is not evidenced in studies where donating and non-donating family decision makers have been included and interviewed.

Research by Kopfman and Smith (1996) aimed at informing donation campaigns introduced new thinking as whilst looking at concepts such as 'knowledge, attitudes and intention to donate' and identifying that those who measured low in intent to donate were more likely to 'have inaccurate knowledge about donation and gain lower scores on a measure for altruism', they also highlighted that 'those low in intention felt that signing a donor card would be frightening' [23]. We see here one of the first instances of what have been referred to as non-rational [23] or later non-cognitive factors [24,25] (anxiety/fear) being reported. Further work by authors carrying out qualitative research increasingly identified deeply held beliefs and feelings that were reported as influencing the decision to donate organs of self and others, or register an intent to become an organ donor on death, including: anxiety, mistrust, superstition-based fear and views about what should or should not be done to a body post death [10,11,14,16,24,26–30].

#### Sanner's Discomfort Reactions

We gain some important insights if we revisit Sanner's work exploring public views of post-death procedures on the body [10,11]. Although this work was carried out in the 1990's with 400 members of the public aged from 18 – 75 years, it identified particular 'discomfort reactions' in relation to post-death procedures that are both relevant and of value in moving forward our understanding of reactions to requests for eye donation. Interviews with three subgroups selected from the original 400 who represented negative, positive and undecided views regarding donating their own organs identified that people with "intense discomfort reactions tended to ignore or suppress positive motives (e.g. attitudes, intentions) toward donating organs" [10].

Sanner identified 600 statements that referred to what may or may not be done to the body after death, and after content analysis of these statements she constructed 20 'motive' categories. These categories were analysed to 'discern psychologically meaningful reaction patterns' by applying a frame of reference based on psychodynamic defence theory and resulted in six central motive complexes [11] (Table 4).

Table 4 – Motive complexes and categories relating to discomfort reactions to post-death procedures (Sanner, 1994)

	6 / 11 / 15 / 16 / 16 / 16 / 16 / 16 / 1
Motive complexes	Sanner's motive categories (for details see Sanner, 1994) [11]
The illusion of lingering life	Uneasiness at the thought of cutting the dead body
	Anxiety about not keeping the dead body intact
	3. Discomfort with donation of certain organs
	4. Difficulty with cutting children
	5. Fear of destruction (of the body)
	6. Uneasiness with exposure (via autopsy or dissection)
	7. Fear of disrespect for the dead person
	9. Discomfort with changes in appearance
	11. Apprehension about the funeral
	13. Discomfort at giving useless organs
Protection of the value of the	5. Fear of destruction
individual	7. Fear of disrespect for the dead person
	9. Discomfort with changes in appearance
	10. Apprehension about the funeral
	13. Discomfort of giving useless organs
	15. Distrust of the doctors
Distress, anxiety and alienation	14. Problems with the concept of death
	15. Distrust of the doctors
	16. Anxiety about biomedical and social development
Respecting the limits set by	12. Dislike of having one's organ surviving in another body or having another organ living
nature/God	on in one's own body
	17. Anxiety about offending God/nature
Altruism	18. Helpfulness and solidarity
	19. Contribution to medical research
Rationality	20. Organs from the deceased can be used in the treatment of the living

Not only can we see these discomfort reactions articulated in the free-text comments recorded during data collection by SNODs (Textboxes 2 – 4), non-rational reactions have been evidenced by other authors and include: fear that doctors would hasten the death of declared donors in order to procure transplantable organs [26], belief that donation would negatively impact rebirth or reincarnation (deceased would be reborn blind) [31], with later work identifying the impact of emotional beliefs including the 'ick' factor and the role of 'Body Integrity' [27] (for a detailed view of all variables tested in development of the Organ Donor Model (ODM) see Morgan et al. [24,27,32]). The 'ick' factor and concerns about body integrity are of particular relevance to eye donation and will therefore be discussed in more detail.

#### The Ick factor and Bodily Integrity

According to Morgan et al (2008) [27] *Ick factors* are those related to a basic disgust response to the idea of eye donation, as it involves what may be perceived by family members as interventions that are disfiguring and even disrespectful. Fear of body disfigurement is proposed as triggering defensive emotions that according to Parisi and Katz, "seem to be deeply rooted in the unconscious and to have relatively little cognitive content" (1986: 576) [33]. These defensive emotions are influenced by sociocultural and psychological factors developed early in childhood, strongly influenced by one's particular culture and ethnicity, and which are reported by Sherman and Sherman (2001) to be resistant to modification [34]. Furthermore, defensive emotions and reactions are reported to underpin donation-negative attitudes and carry more weight in the decision-making process than donation-favourable ones. These findings potentially provide insight into why persuasive attempts that focus on rational messages fail or are less successful than expected by organisations that oversee donation and transplantation services.

A final comment here is the reference in Textbox 2 to 'eyes being the windows to the soul'. This perception has been reported in a number of studies exploring eye donation and links to both the belief in the need to maintain the integrity of the body after death [10,27,35] and a concern about the deceased not being able to see in the afterlife [16,36–38]. For some "eyes, more than any other body part, personify an individual" [15, p.1190] and therefore have greater potential to stimulate 'dissonance' for individuals approached to consider the option of eye donation.

#### Cognitive dissonance and the context of death

Cognitive dissonance is described as an emotional state set up when two simultaneously held cognitions are inconsistent or when there is a conflict between beliefs and overt behaviour [39]. Therefore, relating this to eye donation, dissonance arises when family members approached to consider eye donation are aware (for example by media campaigns such as 'Give the gift of sight') [40] or are made aware (e.g. by SNODS, or other family members) that eye donation can reverse blindness and have to rationalise their aversion/disgust/discomfort of eye removal which they perceive as an integral part of the person they love (as indicated in Textbox 2). Lawlor and Kerridge (2014) go so far as to suggest that despite participants in their study "recognising the potential good that could come from corneal donation, many still maintained that removing the eyes would potentially have a significant adverse effect on their ongoing relationship with the deceased" [15, p.62].

We propose that non-cognitive factors including: discomfort reactions, disfigurement concerns, the ick factor and the importance of body integrity are key areas of emotional and psychological conflict for family members approached to consider eye donation. In their secondary analysis of primary data from donating and non-donating family members in the UK, Long et al (2008) proposed that family members engage in a series of practical and psychological activities aimed at rationalising real or potential emotional and cognitive conflict when faced with the option of donation post death of a family member [14]. If family members are not able to rationalise *conflict* (e.g. sacrifice of an intact body to a perceived disfiguring operation even if it is for the benefit of others) NoK will decline donation.

A key context missing from social cognitive models and also much qualitative research into barriers to donation is the context of death. Apart from living donation, solid organ donation cannot proceed until someone has died, in the case of solid organ a death that is sudden and unexpected. Death not only robs the next-of-kin of a significant relationship, but also robs them of many of their usual coping mechanisms, imposing a sequence of events that Sque et al (2003) describe as leaving family members feeling dispossessed of physical and psychological equilibrium [28].

Furthermore, from a sociological perspective, Kellehear (2008) remarks that an understanding of "dying as a social relationship' [is] vital to understanding the levels of disagreement with organ donation due to the social basis of attachment, meaning-making and identity" [38, p.1541]. Responses indicating attachment to the deceased (e.g. 'family reported they didn't like the idea of someone else seeing through their loved ones eyes, Textbox 2), as well as the need for an intact body (e.g. 'only wanted internal organs donated, nothing from the outside', Textbox 3) are evidenced in this national data set, alongside the importance of the identity of the deceased (e.g. 'eyes refused as wife couldn't bear the thought of him without them', Textbox 2). It is in this emotional landscape that the topic of eye

donation is raised, a context that appears unique to eye donation. It is therefore essential that those making the approach to request eye donation understand the non-rational, emotional, and sociological factors underpinning NoK decision-making if an increase in the donation of eyes is to be achieved.

Whilst messages to support positive attitudes toward donation are now embedded in social and other media campaigns in the UK (e.g. Giving the 'Gift of Life' gift of life, 'Yes I Donate' etc. [42]), messages employed to reduce negative attitudes have not taken sufficient account of the psychological, emotional and sociological factors that are specifically relevant to the donation of eye tissue. As stated in the introduction, eyes are the least donated organ and this, we argue, is because the thought of removing the eyes may stimulate intense discomfort reactions, such as disgust, concerns of visible disfigurement and dissonance that suppress positive motives (e.g. attitudes) toward donating eyes.

#### Limitations:

Data were generated by SNODs who recorded reasons shared with them by family members, and therefore the data reflect a mixture of direct observations and interpretations of both spoken responses and other communicative behaviours. While data reflect specific reasons given to SNODs by family members in some cases, many chose not to give a reason for their decision. Where reasons were given, we cannot claim with certainty whether all factors relevant to the decision were disclosed, and/or the extent to which participant understandings of their own reasons for refusal are stable over time (i.e. whether the way family members understood their decision rationale at the point of reporting/observation changed over time). Feedback received by the working group indicates that SNODs were likely not to probe family responses, just recording 'family refused', 'No additional information' if in their view the discussion may lead to decline of organs. The detail provided in the comments is constrained by the response format (i.e. a handwritten box) limiting the amount of information that SNODs could insert leading to wide variation in length of entries ranging between 1-187 words (median=6, IQR=7).

#### **Conclusion and recommendations:**

In view of the reported 53% of the world's population not having access to the benefits of sight saving and sight restoring transplantation surgery [1] and over two million people in the UK living with sight loss [2] this paper presents important data that could help organisations and HCPs involved in approaching bereaved family member for eye donation re-design modes of approach and the structure of consent conversations. In view of the data reported that potentially, over 2,000 eyes did not become available for use in transplant operations and research due to family members declining this donation option, further research is needed focussed on the construction, delivery and content of the donation conversation. We therefore propose the following recommendations for future service and communication strategy development.

• <u>Communicate propriety of the donation operation</u> - The 'sacrifice' of an unscathed body could be an important barrier to actualising donation even in populations where there is a high level of awareness of the benefits of transplantation [43]. The propriety of the donation operation needs to be stressed in public education and in discussions with the bereaved family approached about organ donation as discovering what worries people about organ donation is the first step towards crafting more effective organ donation campaigns [32].

- Explore the potential of a disc-only corneal retrieval procedure to increase acceptance of donation Enucleation (removal) of the entire eye (as usual in the UK) has been reported as being a potential barrier to donation of eye tissue by relatives in view of disfigurement concerns. Removal of the corneoscleral disc only has been aligned with higher consent rates [44], however currently robust data about whether this would be a more acceptble intevention with decisin makers is missing. Reseach comparing consent rates for these two options would be a valuable addition to the knowledge base on which to base furture service planning.
- Improve public education regarding the donation process Public awareness campaigns, as well as consent conversations with families currently focus on the benefits of transplantation. In contrast, little public education has centred on the donation process itself which could prepare individuals for this potential life event. According to Siminoff of et al. (2001) "Since it is not reasonable to expect that family decision-makers can or even should relinquish strongly held beliefs about organ donation when experiencing the severe stress of a loved one's death, prior education is the best mechanism we may have to inform the public and prepare families for an organ donation request" [14, p.76].
- Explore how the request process affects acceptance of donation There remains significant room for improvement in the request process, as to date this pivotal aspect of the donation process has received little attention. Of note, there has been no research looking into the impact of the hierarchy of organs outlined in the consent conversation. For example, if a patient is suitable to donate all organs and tissues, the first organ mentioned is usually kidneys, followed by other abdominal organs and tissues, thoracic organs and tissues, then tissues (within which eyes are listed). It has been proposed that the order in which organs are requested may affect donation rates for eyes due to what has been referred to as 'list shock' the idea that family members may be overwhelmed by the 'list' of organ and tissue that can be donated (this term was first coined by Margaret Verble and Judy Worth (personal communication, 21.08.2020).
- Explore processes for assessment of familial responses to information provided during the consent conversation future research should explore processes for assessing familial responses to information shared in consent conversation, and how HCPs conducting conversations may appropriately and sensitively explore areas that provoke a reaction (instead of avoiding them). Investigations of the latter type of particular need in light of evidence indicating that many HCP's are poor *prima facie* judges of who may or may not be willing to donate (14).

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### **Competing interests**

EW and HG are employed by NHS Blood and Transplant.

TLS, EW and HG were members of the 'Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017' working party within NHS Blood and Transplant.

#### **Author Contributions**

TLS, EW and HG devised the project. TLS obtained funding from NIHR (17/49/42), and provided oversight to the project. EW and HG provided support for article processing charges. MJB sourced secondary data from NHSBT and conducted secondary data analysis (descriptive statistics and qualitative content analysis), with input from BMS and TLS, and was responsible for primary authorship. TLS provided specialist input into the discussion and recommendations, supported by HG and EW. All co-authors contributed substantially to the development of the paper and resulting recommendations.

JM managed the study as chief investigator. MB was primarily responsible for study design, protocol, data collection and analysis with input from JM, KW, KS, AA and CRM. All authors contributed significant revisions to drafts of the manuscript, and have read and approved the final manuscript.

#### Data sharing statement

No additional unpublished data are available from this study.

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	ВМЈ Оре	n			mjopen-2020-045				
ditional File 1 - Reasons for n	non-donation cases for eye tissue by category and major sub-cate	gory for the	e period 1s	st April .	25	March	2017		
Category	Sub-category	Marc	014 to 31 n 2015 % of	Mar	ე 2015 to ౘ1 ch 2016 ഗ % იტ	Ma	il 2016 to 31 arch 2017 % of		All Yea
		<u>N</u>	category	N	categondy -3	N	category	N	% of
	Decision made on personal views	195 186	0.43	154 180	<u>0</u>	129 222	0.28 0.48	478 588	
	Decision made on disfigurement concerns  Decision made on current physical/emotional state	186	0.41	180	0743 0793	27	0.48	588	
Family wishes	Decision made on religious/cultural/spiritual grounds	4	0.03	12	0.03	5	0.01	21	
	Decision made on lack of knowledge	N/A	N/A	2	020	1	0.00	3	
	Other/not specified family reasons	54	0.12	60	0⋚14	83	0.18	197	
Deceased wishes	Decision based on deceased prior registered wishes	54	0.79	50	0674	24	0.55	128	
Deceased wishes	Decision based on deceased inferred wishes	14	0.21	18	0 <u>%</u> 6	20	0.45	52	
	Homicide / Murder / Manslaughter	7	0.14	8	6 3 0 <u>.</u> 92	10	0.20	25	
Coroner refused	Sustained injury in custody/prison	3	0.06	1	3 0 <u>.9</u> 2	2	0.04	6	
consent	Police refusal	18	0.35	N/A	₩A	1	0.02	19	
	Suspicious death	23	0.45	24	0 41	16	0.31	63	
	Other coroner reasons, please specify	51	1.00	24	<b>6 ₫</b> 1	22	0.43	97	
	High risk behaviour	61	0.25	74	029	58	0.17	193	
	Haemodilution	14	0.06	15	0 <u>∓</u> 06	24	0.07	53	
	Neurological conditions of unknown cause	47	0.19	34	0 <u>5</u> 13	44	0.13	125	
Medical reasons	Positive virology	16	0.07	20	0008	10	0.03	46	
	Above age criteria	N/A	N/A	5	o <del>⊊</del> 02	10	0.03	15	
	Other medical reasons, please specify	104	0.43	105	0242	200	0.58	409	
	Concerns about storage	1	0.02	2	<u></u> 0.94	3	0.03	6	
All other reasons	Other reasons, please specify	28	0.53	28	0026 0240	39	0.36	95	
All other reasons	Not specified	24	0.45	20	24.0	67	0.61	111	

Table 2.1	Main reason for non-eye dona	tion (all reasons)	
	1 April 2014 to 31 March 2015		(%)
Reason for non-eye		N	(70)
I and the second	deceased prior registered wishes	25	(4.0)
ODR Driving licence		35 1	(4.0) (0.1)
Discussion with fam	iilv	17	(1.9)
Verbal or written sta		1	(0.1)
Sub total		54	(6.1)
	deceased inferred wishes	11	(4.2)
	shes not to donate eyes shes not to donate eyes	11 3	(1.2) (0.3)
Sub total	ines not to donate eyes	14	(0.5) (1.6)
			()
Deceased wishes		68	(7.7)
Decision made on p			
	emoved (discomfort reasons)	95	(10.8)
I do not like the idea		62 16	(7.0)
	h removal of whole eye n/link to deceased eyes	22	(1.8) (2.5)
Sub total	mink to deceased eyes	195	(22.1)
			()
	lisfigurement concerns		
Squeamishness, yu	k factor	32	(3.6)
Only organs		79	(9.0)
Face not to be touch	ned w the deceased would look	61 12	(6.9)
Nothing above the r		2	(1.4) (0.2)
Sub total	icon	186	(21.1)
			(=)
	current physical/emotional state 🦠		
Family disagreemer		4	(0.5)
Family overwhelmed		6	(0.7)
Influencing voice ma	aking decisions	1	(0.1) (0.1)
Wanted something	left		(0.1)
Sub total		13	(1.5)
			` '
	eligious/cultural/spiritual grounds		(2.4)
Need for eyes to be		1	(0.1)
Need eyes to see in Sub total	i the alternie	3	(0.3) <b>(0.5)</b>
Sub total		4	(0.5)
Other/not specified	family reasons		
Family other reason		26	(3.0)
Family, not specified	d	28	(3.2)
Sub total		54	(6.1)
Family wishes		452	(51.3)
l anning wishes		702	(31.3)
Reason for non-eye	donation	N	(%)
			, ,
Coroner refused c		_	(2.2)
Homicide / Murder /	Manslaughter	7	(0.8)
Police refusal Suspicious death		3 18	(0.3) (2.0)
Other coroner reason	ons please specify	23	(2.6)
Sub total	one, places aposity	51	(5.7)
			ν- /
Medical reasons			
High risk behaviour		61	(6.8)
Haemodilution	one of unknown source	14	(1.6)
ineurological conditi	ons of unknown cause	47	(5.3)

Positive virology	16	(1.8)	
Other medical reasons, please specify	104	(11.7)	
Sub total	242	(27.1)	
All other reasons			
Concerns about storage	1	(0.1)	
Other reasons, please specify	28	(3.1)	
Not specified	24	(2.7)	
Sub total	53	(5.9)	
TOTAL	892	(100.0)	

Table 2.2	Main reason for non-eye donation (a 1 April 2015 to 31 March 2016	all reasons)	
Reason for non-eye do	onation	N	(%)
Decision based on dec ODR Passport Discussion with family Verbal or written stater Sub total	ceased prior registered wishes	21 1 22 6 <b>50</b>	(2.1) (0.1) (2.2) (0.6) ( <b>5.0)</b>
Decision based on dec Knew deceased wishe Perceived wishes with Sub total	s not to donate eyes	15 3 <b>18</b>	(1.5) (0.3) <b>(1.8)</b>
Deceased wishes		68	(6.8)
Decision made on personal do not like the idea of UncomforTable with repersonal connection/linesub total	oved (discomfort reasons) f eye donation emoval of whole eye	54 69 10 21 <b>154</b>	(5.4) (6.9) (1.0) (2.1) <b>(15.5)</b>
Decision made on disfinition Squeamishness, yuk far Only organs Face not to be touched Concerns about how the Nothing above the necessity total	actor d ne deceased would look	40 88 38 13 1	(4.0) (8.9) (3.8) (1.3) (0.1) (18.1)
Decision made on curre Family tired Family disagreement Family overwhelmed Influencing voice making List shock Wanted something left Sub total		1 1 5 1 1 3 12	(0.1) (0.1) (0.5) (0.1) (0.1) (0.3) (1.2)
Decision made on relig Need eyes to see in th Sub total	gious/cultural/spiritual grounds e afterlife	12 <b>12</b>	(1.2) (1.2)
Decision made on lack Family unaware that ey Family had questions a Sub total	yes can be donated	1 1 2	(0.1) (0.1) ( <b>0.2)</b>
Other/not specified fan Family other reasons, Family, not specified Sub total		26 34 <b>60</b>	(2.6) (3.4) <b>(6.0)</b>
Family wishes		420	(42.3)
Coroner refused con- Homicide / Murder / Ma Sustained injury in cus Suspicious death	anslaughter	8 1 25	(0.9) (0.1) (2.8)

Other coroner reasons, please specify Sub total	24 <b>58</b>	(2.7) <b>(6.6)</b>
Medical reasons High risk behaviour Haemodilution Neurological conditions of unknown cause Positive virology Above age criteria Other medical reasons, please specify Sub total	74 15 34 20 5 105 <b>253</b>	(8.4) (1.7) (3.9) (2.3) (0.6) (11.9) (28.7)
All other reasons Concerns about storage Other reasons, please specify Not specified Sub total	2 28 20 <b>50</b>	(0.2) (3.2) (2.3) (5.7)
TOTAL	881	(100.0)

Table 1.3	Main reason for non-eye donation 1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017	on (all reasons)	
Reason for non-eye	donation	N	(%)
Decision based on o	leceased prior registered wishes	13	(1.3)
Discussion with fam	ilv	6	(0.6)
Verbal or written sta		5	(0.5)
Sub total		24	(2.4)
	leceased inferred wishes	18	(1.8)
Perceived wishes w	hes not to donate eyes th disfigurement	2	(0.2)
Sub total	ar diongaromont	20	(2.0)
Deceased wishes		44	(4.3)
Decision made on p	orsonal views		
	moved (discomfort reasons)	40	(3.9)
I do not like the idea		41	(4.0)
	removal of whole eye	11	(1.1)
	/link to deceased eyes	37	(3.6)
Sub total		129	(12.7)
	isfigurement concerns	0.5	(0.4)
Squeamishness, yul	< factor	95	(9.4)
Only organs Face not to be touch	ned	92 23	(9.1) (2.3)
	the deceased would look	10	(1.0)
Nothing above the n		2	(0.2)
Sub total		222	(21.9)
	urrent physical/emotional state		(2.0)
Family tired Family disagreemer	t	3 5	(0.3) (0.5)
Family overwhelmed		6	(0.6)
Influencing voice ma		1	(0.1)
List shock	-	1	(0.1)
Wanted something I	eft	11	(1.1)
Sub total		27	(2.7)
Decision made on re Need eyes to see in	eligious/cultural/spiritual grounds	5	(0.5)
Sub total	the alternie	5	(0.5) (0.5)
Decision medican to	ale of legacidades		
Decision made on la Family had question		1	(0.1)
Sub total	s about the process	1	(0.1) (0.1)
Other/not specified i	family reasons		
Family other reason	s, please specify	35	(3.4)
Family, not specified	I	48	(4.7)
Sub total		83	(8.2)
Family wishes		467	(46.0)
Communication			
Coroner refused co Homicide / Murder /		10	(1.0)
Sustained injury in c		2	(0.2)
Police refusal		1	(0.1)
Suspicious death		16	(1.6)
Other coroner reaso	ns, please specify	22	(2.2)
Sub total		51	(5.1)

Medical reasons		
High risk behaviour	58	(5.8)
Haemodilution	24	(2.4)
Neurological conditions of unknown cause	44	(4.4)
Positive virology	10	(1.0)
Above age criteria	10	(1.0)
Other medical reasons, please specify	200	(20.1)
Sub total	346	(34.8)
All other reasons		
Concerns about storage	3	(0.3)
Other reasons, please specify	39	(3.9)
Not specified	67	(6.7)
Sub total	109	(11.0)
TOTAL	1017	(100.0)

# **BMJ Open**

Family Refusal of eye tissue donation from potential solid organ donors – a retrospective analysis of summary and free-text data from the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Services (NHS-BT) National Referral Centre (1st April 2014 – 31st March 2017).

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Family Refusal of eye tissue donation from potential solid organ donors – a retrospective analysis of summary and free-text data from the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Services (NHS-BT)

National Referral Centre (1st April 2014 – 31st March 2017).

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#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** Long-standing undersupply of eye tissue exists both in the UK and globally, and the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Service (NHSBT) has called for further research exploring barriers to eye donation. This study aims to: I) describe reported reasons for non-donation of eye tissue from solid organ donors in the UK between 1st April 2014–31st March 2017; II) discuss these findings with respect to existing theories relating to non-donation of eyes by family members.

**Design:** Secondary analysis of a national primary data set of recorded reasons for non-donation of eyes from 2790 potential solid organ donors. Data analysis including descriptive statistics and qualitative content analysis of free-text data for 126 recorded cases of family decline of eye donation.

**Setting:** National data set covering solid organ donation (secondary care).

**Participants:** 2790 potential organ donors assessed for eye donation eligibility between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017.

**Results**: Reasons for non-retrieval of eyes were recorded as: family wishes (n=1339, 48% of total cases); medical reasons (n=841, 30%); deceased wishes (n=180, 7%). In >50% of recorded cases, reasons for non-donation were based on: family's knowledge of the deceased wishes, their perception of the deceased wishes, and specific concerns regarding processes or effects of eye donation (for the deceased body). Findings are discussed with respect to existing theoretical perspectives.

**Conclusion**: Eye donation involves distinct psychological and socio-cultural factors for families and HCPs that have not been fully explored in research or integrated into service design. We propose areas for future research and service development including: potential of only retrieving corneal discs as opposed to full eyes to reduce disfigurement concerns; public education regarding donation processes; exploration of how request processes potentially influence acceptance of eye donation; procedures for assessment of familial responses to information provided during consent conversations.

Keywords: secondary analysis, eye donation, cornea, consent, family decline of donation

# Strengths and limitations of this study

- This secondary analysis paper is the first reporting of primary data discussing reasons for non-donation of eyes recorded by Specialist Nurses in Organ Donation (SNODs) for 2790 potential solid organ donors in the UK.
- The authors applied qualitative content analysis to free-text data and discuss findings in relation to existing theoretical perspectives to identify areas for further research and service development.
- The paper reports proxy commentary recorded as free text data generated by SNODs when recording reasons provided by family members for declining donation of eye tissue, and therefore is limited in depth of detail available for reporting.
- Due to study design limitations, factors that may have influenced family decision making (i.e. potential donor demographics/regional differences, changes in legislation) cannot be addressed in this paper.
- Due to data sharing restrictions the paper presents descriptive statistics only.

#### **Background**

Globally, 53% of the world's population has no access to the benefits of sight saving and sight restoring transplantation surgery due to a short fall in the supply of ophthalmic tissue (cornea and sclera) that is only available via eye donation [1]. According to Pascolini et al. (2010) over 10 million people worldwide have bilateral corneal blindness which could be restored with a corneal transplant [1]. According to the Royal National Institute of Blind (RNIB) over two million people in the UK are living with sight loss [2] caused by conditions such as Keratoconus and Fuchs' Corneal Dystrophy, that can be treated if eye tissue is available (e.g. by corneal transplantation and reconstructive surgery). Eye tissue is also needed for research into a wide variety of eye diseases, for example endothelial failure post-cataract surgery [3]. The RNIB report that approximately 5,000 corneal transplants are required annually in the UK to address disease and injury resulting in sight loss, with costs to the UK economy (unpaid carer burden and reduced employment rates) reported as £4.34 billion annually [2]. Critically, the organisation predicts predicted that by 2050 the number of people with sight loss will double to nearly four million [2]. It is therefore imperative that the tissue needed to intervene in these conditions via corneal transplantation, reconstructive surgery, glaucoma surgery, and research into the causes and treatment of eye disease is available

However, there is a long-standing shortfall in supply of eye tissue in the UK and globally, with eyes being the least donated of all organs and tissues when decision makers are offered a 'list' that they need to agree to that can be retrieved for use in transplantation (n.b. as eyes are referred to as both organs and tissues in different contexts, we will refer to them as organs from here on) [4,5]. The UK National Health Services Blood and Transplant (NHSBT) Eye Bank in Speke, Liverpool and Bristol (who supply most eye tissue used for surgical purposes in the UK) seeks to have 10 eye donors per day consistently to satisfy demand for the treatment of patients. This number is not consistently met.

Increasing supply is a key strategic aim for NHSBT Tissue and Eye Services Division [6] and they, along with the UK Royal College of Ophthalmology (RCO) [7], have expressed a need for research exploring barriers to eye donation. This knowledge is needed not only as a basis for developing new routes to supply, but also to inform guidance underpinning donation conversations with family members who are approached to consider the option of eye donation. Increasing supply requires understanding of how patients and families relate to eye tissue donation (i.e. attitudes, beliefs, information needs etc.) and how these processes shape donation outcomes, specifically family members declining eye donation.

Eye donation from solid organ donors continues to prove problematic, with slow progress in increasing supply from this specific cohort of donors. For example, eye donation from solid organ donors generated 320 eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2016 [4], and 446 eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2019 to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2020 [8]. Current evidence indicates that nationally on average only 40% (range 31-64%) of next-of-kin (NoK) agree to eye donation when approached to consider solid organ donation, whilst 67% of NoK agree to solid organ donation [5], and therefore what contributes to this difference is an important area for investigation.

In this paper we aim to contribute to the knowledge base around non-donation of eye tissue from solid organ donors by reporting, for the first time, national clinical data collected and provided by NHS Blood and Transplant between 2014–2017, aligned with key theoretical perspectives reported to explain donating behaviours. This body of work from the past 30 years will advance knowledge and understanding of the reasons why of all organs and tissues that can be donated, eyes remain the least donated organ [4,5].

#### Study objectives:

- i. Describe the reported reasons why eye donation did not take place from potential solid organ donors in the UK between  $1^{st}$  April  $2014 31^{st}$  March 2017.
- ii. Discuss these findings in the context of existing theoretical perspectives relating to non-donation of eyes by family members

#### Study design

To gain further insight into the factors leading to low numbers of eyes being secured from solid organ donation, a working party (Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017) was convened with the remit to: plan and action an effective response to demand and supply problems, and make evidence-based recommendations to NHSBT and external stakeholders regarding potential service development that would impact on the current low supply of eye tissue.

# Ethical approval

Ethical approval was not required for this secondary analysis of previously collected primary data. Primary data collected as part of the service development was shared with the UOS team in line with a Service Level Agreement (SLA) between UOS and NHSBT Tissue and Eye Services Division since 2007. The sharing, analysis and reporting of data was carried out in line with a UK Transplant Registry Data Release agreement relating to UK General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) 2018, the UK Data Protection Act 2018, the UK Human Rights Act 1998, and the UK Common Law Duty of Confidentiality.

#### Patient and Public involvement

The paper presents a secondary analysis of primary data collected by NHSBT Tissue Services as part of a service development initiative. As such there were no patients or members of the public involved in the design or conduct of the primary service development initiative. No dissemination of the primary data has occurred until this secondary analysis. As part of secondary analysis carried out by UOS team, and in line with the team's commitment to the value of PPI input, a summary of key findings was made to members of the NHSBT Tissue Services Donor Advisory Group (DAG), which includes next of kin of donating patients and public representatives). Members were invited to ask questions as part of an update to their regular meeting in Q4 2020.

#### **Data collection**

Data for 2790 potential\* donors from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, assessed for eligibility to donate eyes between 1st April 2014 and 31st March 2017, were collected using a standardised proforma (\*n.b. potential donor refers to a deceased person who could become an organ donor unless medical criteria for non-donation, or consent/authorisation is withheld by next of kin). Specialist Nurses in Organ Donation (SNODs) were requested to record reasons for non-procurement of eye tissue selecting from the domains listed in Table 1. SNODs were also asked to add further commentary via use of a free-text box. Data was gathered by SNODs with the requirement that they complete data collection for each potential donor following discussion with family members and other stakeholders (e.g. coroner). Data for each SNOD were collated into a monthly regional team returns to the NHSBT statistical team, who generated descriptive statistical data reported in this paper. Data were collected over three years, with a cessation in 2018 due to the operationalisation of eye donation moving from the Organ Donation and Transplant division of NHSBT to its Tissue and Eye Services division. The full data set for descriptive statistics relating to non-procurement of eye tissue is presented in Additional File, Table 1 – however this paper focuses on data relating specifically to family decline of eye donation.

#### **Analysis**

Secondary Analysis [9] included generation of descriptive statistics on reasons for non-donation of eyes recorded by SNODs for 2790 potential donors (Table 1) and application of qualitative content analysis [10] to free-text data for 126 recorded reasons for family decline of eye donation. Analysis of free-text data was undertaken using Nvivo computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software (version 12) [11].

As international empirical evidence from the past 30 years indicates, eye donation involves reactions that do not impact other forms of donation including: discomfort reactions [12,13], disfigurement [3], the belief that eyes will be needed in the afterlife, eyes being viewed as the 'windows to the soul' [6,14], as well as disgust-related aversion ('yuk'/'ick factor') (findings from this national dataset have been grouped under these headings).

The aim of the analytic process was to generate a descriptive analysis of data recording reasons for non-donation of eye tissue as reported by SNODs (Objective 1), and to underpin a theoretically informed discussion aimed at unpacking the key reasons why family members decline the option of eye donation when this is a possibility (i.e. no medical reasons for non-donation are evident) (Objective 2). By engaging with existing theory regarding donation decision making, this paper also aims to inform interventions that can lead to an increase in donation of eye tissue for use in transplant operations.

# **Descriptive statistics**

Reasons for non-donation of eye tissue (overview)

The data related to 2790 potential donors from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, assessed for eligibility to donate eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017, but from whom eye tissue was not retrieved (reporting periods cover UK financial year, see Table 1). The most common reasons for non-retrieval of eyes were: family wishes (n=1339, 48% of total cases); medical reasons (n=841, 30%); deceased wishes (n=180, 7%); and coroner refusal (n=160,

6%), with 'All other reasons' accounting for n=212 (8%) of cases (reasons were not recorded in n=58 (2%) cases – see Table 1). The reporting in this paper will focus on data related to **family and deceased wishes** only as these contribute to over 50% of recorded reasons why eye donation did not proceed when donation discussions took place.

Table 1 – Summary of recorded reasons for non-donation of eye tissue from potential solid organ donors for the period 1<sup>st</sup>
April 2014-31<sup>st</sup> March 2017 (focus categories for this paper are shaded grey).

Period	Fam wisl	-	Med reas			eased shes		oner used		other sons	(Reasons recorde		тс	TAL
Periou	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(% all years)
1 April 2014 to 31														
March 2015	452	0.51	242	0.27	68	0.08	51	0.06	53	0.06	26	0.03	892	0.32
1 April 2015 to 31														
March 2016	420	0.48	253	0.29	68	0.08	58	0.07	50	0.06	32	0.04	881	0.32
1 April 2016 to 31														
March 2017	467	0.46	346	0.34	44	0.04	51	0.05	109	0.11	0	0	1017	0.36
All years	1339	0.48	841	0.3	180	0.07	160	0.06	212	0.08	58	0.02	2790	

Decline of eye donation based on family and deceased wishes

Where non-procurement of eye tissue was recorded under *Family wishes* (n=1339), the most common reasons related to disfigurement concerns (n=588, 44% of family decline), or 'personal views' about eye donation held by Next of Kin (NoK) (n=478, 36% - see Table 2).

For cases where non-procurement of eye tissue was recorded under *Deceased's wishes* (n=180 cases, 7% of total), 128 (71% of deceased wishes cases) were due to the fact that the deceased had registered (on the organ donor register, which is always checked by SNODs in preparation for discussing donation options) that they did not want to donate eye tissue. A further 52 (29%) cases of non-procurement of eye tissue resulted from discussions with NoK where they stated that the deceased's wish not to donate eyes was known to them – see Table 2.

Table 2 – Reasons for non-donation of eye tissue from potential solid organ donors by category and major sub-category for the period 1st April 2014-31st March 2017.

Domain	Sub-domain	1 April 2014 to 31 March 2015		1 April 2015 to 31 March 2016		1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017		All Years	
	Sub-domain		% of		% of		% of		
		Ν	category	Ν	category	Ν	category	Ν	% of category
	Decision made on								
Family	personal views	195	0.43	154	0.37	129	0.28	478	0.36
wishes	Decision made on								
	disfigurement concerns	186	0.41	180	0.43	222	0.48	588	0.44

	Decision made on current physical/emotional state	13	0.03	12	0.03	27	0.06	52	0.04
	Decision made on religious/cultural/spiritual								
	grounds	4	0.01	12	0.03	5	0.01	21	0.02
	Decision made on lack of								
	knowledge	N/A*	N/A*	2	0.00	1	0.00	3	0.00
	Other/not specified								
	family reasons**	54	0.12	60	0.14	83	0.18	197	0.15
	Decision based on								
0	deceased prior registered								
Deceased wishes	wishes	54	0.79	50	0.74	24	0.55	128	0.71
wisries	Decision based on								
	deceased inferred wishes	14	0.21	18	0.26	20	0.45	52	0.29

<sup>\*</sup>category was not included in data collection for this period.

Findings from analysis of free-text data (family decline)

Table 3 lists results of content analysis, showing all resulting categories of recorded reasons for family decline (n = 126). Of note is that in 65 cases (10%) of SNODs reporting 'family refused', 'No additional information' was recorded in the free-text comment box. For these cases, we therefore have no information on which to base any commentary regarding family decline. The findings and discussion are therefore related to the italicised categories in Table 3 (n=61 cases within this group).

Table 3 - Summary of free-text comments relating to family reasons for decline of eye tissue donation from potential solid organ donors

		Cases (% of n=126 cases with free-text comment relating to family
Family Reasons Categories	Cases (n)*	reasons)
No additional information	65	0.52
Family uncomfortable with eye donation	22	0.17
Family reasons indicated but case not classified as		0.13
either '88-Family, not specified' or '87-Family other		
reasons, please specify'	17	
Consent for Solid organ donation but not eyes	10	0.08
Nothing 'visible' to be removed	7	0.06
Family withdrew initial consent	6	0.05
Family Infer Patient Wishes		
(e.g. NoK recorded as indicating deceased 'would not		
have wanted' eye donation)	3	0.02
Family refuse moving of body for retrieval	3	0.02
No ODR restrictions but family refuse eye donation	2	0.02
Family reasons due to religious reasons	2	0.02
Tendons only	1	0.01
Family wish to donate to scientific research	1	0.01
Family believed patient ineligible due to medical		0.01
contraindication	1	
Family member worried that they may inadvertently		
work with tissues in professional role in donated but		
not transplanted	1	0.01

<sup>\*</sup>Note: cases do not equal 126 as some can belong to more than one category (e.g. a comment could relate to both 'Consent for Solid organ donation but not eyes' and 'No ODR restrictions but family refuse eye donation')

<sup>\*\*</sup>Includes sub-domains inviting free-text comment (i.e. 'please specify')

# Findings from analysis of free-text comments

Cases are reported as a percentage of the 126 free text comments available relating to family refusal (% of n=126).

#### Discomfort reactions

For 22 cases (17%) free-text responses recorded by SNODs indicated family discomfort with eye donation. In addition to general expressions of discomfort with eye donation comments also referred to personal attachment to the eyes of the deceased, which influenced family decision making (examples Textbox 1).

Textbox 1. Recorded family comments relating to discomfort reactions to eye tissue donation.

[B]rothers who had had discussion and all felt "funny" about eyes.

Family did not like the idea of eye donation.

Family reported they didn't like the idea of someone else seeing through their loved ones eyes'...

'Family did not want eyes removing as they felt they were part of her'

Family were very much against eye donation as they said they were "windows to the soul"

... eyes refused as wife couldn't bear the thought of him without them.

Partner believed the eyes were the window to the soul

# Disfigurement concerns

Linked to discomfort reactions, concerns about disfiguring the body of the deceased was raised by seven family members (6%) with SNODs recording that family members only wanted solid organs to be retrieved. It is notable that comments include words and phrases such as *'nothing visible, 'external'*, *and 'outside'* underlining that family members are concerned about how the body will look post donation (Textbox 2).

Textbox 2. Recorded family comments relating to disfigurement concerns.

This is how we saw him

Family did not like the thought of external surgery to the body other than through the initial operation site.

Family did not want anything "external" donated

Family did not want eye donation as not wanting anything visible

Family not wanting the face touching

Only wanted internal organs donated, nothing from the "outside"

# Solid organ only - not eye tissue!

As well as concerns about disfigurement and the reported wish that 'nothing visible be removed' in a further 10 cases (8%), family consent was recorded as being given for solid organs but declined for eyes. In Textbox 3, we see examples of differing decisions recorded for tissues (eyes are also referred to as tissues) and solid organs. Some comments record SNOD-perceived strength of feeling as a factor restricting further discussion about eye donation. Of note here is that we do not have evidence indicating on what basis the assessment about 'appropriateness' is based (e.g. "Parents did not wish to donate anything other than liver and kidneys not appropriate to ask as risking loss of donation") or how much time was taken in this approach for donation. Higher consent/authorisation rates are

reported when parents perceive that they have had adequate time to discuss donation within the family and with the healthcare team [15,16]. In one case, we see a priority invoked as the reason for decline, 'life saving organs only' suggesting that a value was being associated with different organ or tissues.

Textbox 3. Recorded family comments relating to reasons for eye tissue accompanying consent for solid organs.

[Family] did not want any tissue donation organs are enough.

Family did not want any tissue donation only solid organs

Family only wanted kidneys donated, no other reason given.

Family very uncomfortable with tissue donation and only wanted organs as they cannot be seen

Kidneys only would not discuss anything else

Life-saving organs only

On ODR no restrictions, partner consented to kidney only, nothing else.

Parents did not wish to donate anything other than liver and kidneys not appropriate to ask as risking loss of donation

Wife wanted solid organs only

Son certain he did not want to donate eyes, or any tissue. Was a very strong no to tissue and did not elaborate too much despite open questioning.

#### Change in decision-making

Six cases (5%) described initial consent for eye donation being provided by families which was later withdrawn (see Textbox 4). Comments suggest the potential influence of post-decision dissonance (see *Discussion* section) [17] and the impact of wider family views stimulating a reversal of the decision to agree to eye donation.

[Father] changed his mind after consent provided.

Even though partner consented initially, family wanted patient embalmed and wanted body home ASAP.

Family withdrew consent as needed quick release.

Family withdrew eye consent, reason not specified.

Initial consent provided for eyes and skin but then changed their mind, no reason given.

Parents consented for all tissues but withdrew consent whilst visiting him in Chapel of rest saying he had 'given enough' and they did not want him to be touched anymore

Textbox 4.

Recorded

family

comments

relating to a

change in

decision to

donate eyes.

# Discussion

The data presented in this study indicate that the main reason for non-procurement of eye tissue from potential solid organ donors in the UK is the decline of this option by bereaved family members. One thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine approaches for eye donation resulted in family decline, despite this being a valid donation option over the time period of data collection. Therefore, potentially, over 2,000 eyes did not become available for use in transplant operations and research into eye diseases resulting in loss of sight due to family decline.

This picture of potential donor eyes not becoming available in the context of solid organ donation is reflected in the global literature, with authors in the USA reporting that of 10,000 potential solid organ donors where a consent rate of 47% for organ donation was achieved, only 24% eye donation consent rate was achieved [18]. Reporting data from a survey carried out with 371 individuals renewing their driving licence in Sydney Australia, authors indicated that of 369 participants who responded to questions related to willingness to donate corneas, 153 (41%) indicated that they would not [19]. This reluctance for eye donation is not just reflected in Western contexts (e.g. Europe, North America, Australasia): for example, Acharya et al. (2019) surveyed 407 bereaved NoK of potential eye donors in Delhi (India), reporting that the majority 239 (59%) of NoK would decline eye donation [20]. Commentary from all three papers highlight concerns regarding disfigurement, discomfort with the thought of eye removal, and spiritual/atheistic links to the eyes.

The comments illustrated in textboxes 1-4 support the findings from international literature, that personal attitudes to and beliefs about the propriety of eye donation are influential in shaping negative orientations toward this option and thus to decline of donation when it is raised with NoK.

#### How can we understand these reactions?

Concerns with, and negative reactions to the option of eye donation, as well as the critical shortage of eye tissue for use in transplant operations and research, are persistent and pervasive in the UK and across many other parts of the world. Therefore, we will now discuss these factors in light of theoretical work aimed at illuminating factors underpinning these outcomes. The discussion will look at theories developed from social cognitive psychology, which outline general concepts influencing behaviour, and more specific theories/models focussed on psychological concepts that propose explanations for the reactions reported both in these data and the wider global literature. Whilst an exhaustive review of relevant theory is not possible in this paper, we focus on application of key findings and thinking to the national recorded data analysed here with the aim of: I) making recommendations to guide communication with patients, carers or other NoK when making an approach regarding the option of eye donation; II) stimulating thinking on communications strategy (e.g. future publicity and campaigns) by organisations responsible for securing a reliable and sufficient supply of eye tissue.

# Social Cognitive models

Most early studies exploring factors influencing individual donation decision making applied concepts laid out in social-cognitive models such as the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) [21] and the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) [22,23]. Horton and Horton (1991) developed one of the earliest models proposing that the action of signing or requesting an organ donor card and willingness to donate own, or a deceased loved one's organs after death was a product of: *values, knowledge, attitudes (toward donation), willingness* and *action* [24]. Their path analysis and causal modelling study included two cohorts of participants: University students (N= 295), and members of the public (N = 465). Whilst establishing that the tested concepts were related to donation decision making, it was also clear from results that there was no linear causal relationship between knowledge, values, attitudes, willingness, and action related to donation behaviours [24]. Further modelling by Radecki and Jaccard (1999) identifying barriers to sharing donation intentions with legal next of kin supported the general finding that behavioural intention (or willingness) does not predict action [25].

This brief review reminds us that while prior attitudes toward a behaviour are influential, that they do not 'ensure' action will follow intention. Models such as TRA [21] and TPB [22,23] are fundamentally models that presume a process of rational decision making that is not evidenced in studies where donating and non-donating family decision makers have been included and interviewed.

For example. research by Kopfman and Smith (1996) aimed at informing donation campaigns introduced new thinking by looking both at concepts such as 'knowledge, attitudes and intention to donate' and identifying that those who measured low in intent to donate were more likely to 'have inaccurate knowledge about donation and gain lower scores on a measure for altruism' – and also highlighting that 'those low in intention felt that signing a donor card would be frightening' [26]. We see here one of the first instances of what have been referred to as non-rational [26] or later non-cognitive factors [27,28] (anxiety/fear) being reported. Further work by authors carrying out qualitative research increasingly identified deeply held beliefs and feelings that were reported as influencing the decision to donate organs of self and others, or register an intent to become an organ donor on death, including: anxiety, mistrust, superstition-based fear and views about what should or should not be done to a body post death [12–14,17,18,27,29–32].

# Sanner's Discomfort Reactions

We gain some important insights if we revisit Sanner's work exploring public views of post-death procedures on the body [12,13]. Although this work was carried out in the 1990's with 400 members of the public aged from 18–75 years, Sanner identified particular 'discomfort reactions' in relation to post-death procedures that are both relevant and of value in moving forward our understanding of reactions to requests for eye donation. Interviews with three subgroups selected from the original 400 who represented negative, positive, and undecided views regarding donating their own organs identified that people with "intense discomfort reactions tended to ignore or suppress positive motives (e.g. attitudes, intentions) toward donating organs" [12].

Sanner identified 600 statements that referred to what may or may not be done to the body after death, and after content analysis of these statements she constructed 20 'motive' categories. These categories were analysed to 'discern psychologically meaningful reaction patterns' by applying a frame of reference based on psychodynamic defence theory, and resulted in six central motive complexes [13] (Table 4).

Table 4 – Motive complexes and categories relating to discomfort reactions to post-death procedures (Sanner, 1994)

Motive complexes	Sanner's motive categories (for details see Sanner, 1994) [13]
The illusion of lingering life	Uneasiness at the thought of cutting the dead body
	2. Anxiety about not keeping the dead body intact
	3. Discomfort with donation of certain organs
	4. Difficulty with cutting children
	5. Fear of destruction (of the body)
	6. Uneasiness with exposure (via autopsy or dissection)
	7. Fear of disrespect for the dead person
	9. Discomfort with changes in appearance
	11. Apprehension about the funeral
	13. Discomfort at giving useless organs
Protection of the value of the	5. Fear of destruction
individual	7. Fear of disrespect for the dead person
	9. Discomfort with changes in appearance
	10. Apprehension about the funeral
	13. Discomfort of giving useless organs
	15. Distrust of the doctors
Distress, anxiety and alienation	14. Problems with the concept of death
	15. Distrust of the doctors
	16. Anxiety about biomedical and social development
Respecting the limits set by	12. Dislike of having one's organ surviving in another body or having another organ living
nature/God	on in one's own body
	17. Anxiety about offending God/nature
Altruism	18. Helpfulness and solidarity
	19. Contribution to medical research
Rationality	20. Organs from the deceased can be used in the treatment of the living

Not only can we see these discomfort reactions articulated in the free-text comments recorded during data collection by SNODs in our own findings (Textboxes 1-4), we can also see that non-rational reactions have been evidenced by other authors and include: fear that doctors would hasten the death of declared donors in order to procure transplantable organs [18], belief that donation would negatively impact rebirth or reincarnation (deceased would be reborn blind) [33], and later work identifying the impact of emotional beliefs including the 'ick' factor and the role of 'Body Integrity' [29] (for a detailed view of all variables tested in development of the Organ Donor Model (ODM) see Morgan et al. [27,29,34]). The 'ick' factor and concerns about body integrity are of particular relevance to eye donation and will therefore be discussed in more detail.

#### The lck factor and Bodily Integrity

According to Morgan et al (2008) [29] *Ick factors* are those related to a basic disgust response to the idea of eye donation, as it involves what may be perceived by family members as interventions that are disfiguring and even disrespectful. Fear of body disfigurement is proposed as triggering defensive emotions that according to Parisi and Katz, "seem to be deeply rooted in the unconscious and to have relatively little cognitive content" (1986: 576) [35]. These defensive emotions are influenced by sociocultural and psychological factors developed early in childhood,

strongly influenced by one's particular culture and ethnicity, and which are reported by Sherman and Sherman (2001) to be resistant to modification [36]. Furthermore, defensive emotions and reactions are reported to underpin donation-negative attitudes and carry more weight in the decision-making process than donation-favourable ones. These findings potentially provide insight into why persuasive attempts that focus on rational messages fail or are less successful than expected by organisations that oversee donation and transplantation services.

A final comment here is the reference in Textbox 1 to 'eyes being the windows to the soul'. This perception has been reported in a number of studies exploring eye donation and links to both the belief in the need to maintain the integrity of the body after death [37] and a concern about the deceased not being able to see in the afterlife [14,37,38]. For some "eyes, more than any other body part, personify an individual" [17, p.1190] and therefore have greater potential to stimulate 'dissonance' for individuals approached to consider the option of eye donation.

# Cognitive dissonance and the context of death

Cognitive dissonance is described as an emotional state set up when two simultaneously held cognitions are inconsistent or when there is a conflict between beliefs and overt behaviour [39]. Therefore, relating this to eye donation, dissonance arises when family members approached to consider eye donation are aware (for example by media campaigns such as 'Give the gift of sight') [40] or are made aware (e.g. by SNODS, or other family members) that eye donation can reverse blindness and have to rationalise their aversion/disgust/discomfort of eye removal which they perceive as an integral part of the person they love (as indicated in Textbox 1). Lawlor and Kerridge (2014) go so far as to suggest that despite participants in their study "recognising the potential good that could come from corneal donation, many still maintained that removing the eyes would potentially have a significant adverse effect on their ongoing relationship with the deceased"[14, p.62].

We propose that non-cognitive factors including: discomfort reactions, disfigurement concerns, the ick factor and the importance of body integrity are key areas of emotional and psychological conflict for family members approached to consider eye donation. In their secondary analysis of primary data from donating and non-donating family members in the UK, Long et al (2008) proposed that family members engage in a series of practical and psychological activities aimed at rationalising real or potential emotional and cognitive conflict when faced with the option of donation post death of a family member [17]. If family members are not able to rationalise *conflict (e.g. sacrifice of an intact body to a perceived disfiguring operation even if it is for the benefit of others*) NoK will decline donation.

A key context missing from social cognitive models and also much qualitative research into barriers to donation is the context of death. Apart from living donation, solid organ donation cannot proceed until someone has died, in the case of solid organ a death that is sudden and unexpected. Death not only robs the next-of-kin of a significant relationship, but also robs them of many of their usual coping mechanisms, imposing a sequence of events that Sque et al (2003) describe as leaving family members feeling dispossessed of physical and psychological equilibrium [30].

Furthermore, from a sociological perspective, Kellehear (2008) remarks that an understanding of "dying as a social relationship' [is] vital to understanding the levels of disagreement with organ donation due to the social basis of attachment, meaning-making and identity" [41, p.1541]. Responses indicating attachment to the deceased (e.g. 'family reported they didn't like the idea of someone else seeing through their loved ones eyes, Textbox 1), as well as the need for an intact body (e.g. 'only wanted internal organs donated, nothing from the outside', Textbox 2) are evidenced in the national data set analysed in this paper, alongside the importance of the identity of the deceased (e.g. 'eyes refused as wife couldn't bear the thought of him without them', Textbox 1). It is in this emotional landscape that the topic of eye donation is raised, a context that appears unique to eye donation. It is therefore essential that those making the approach to request eye donation understand the non-rational, emotional, and sociological factors underpinning NoK decision-making if an increase in the donation of eyes is to be achieved.

Whilst messages to support positive attitudes toward donation are now embedded in social and other media campaigns in the UK (e.g. Giving the 'Gift of Sight' [42], 'Yes I Donate' etc. [43]), messages employed to reduce negative attitudes have not taken sufficient account of the psychological, emotional and sociological factors that are specifically relevant to the donation of eye tissue. As stated in the introduction, eyes are the least donated organ and this, we argue, is because the thought of removing the eyes may stimulate intense discomfort reactions, such as disgust, concerns of visible disfigurement and dissonance that suppress positive motives (e.g. attitudes) toward donating eyes.

#### Limitations

Data were generated by SNODs who recorded reasons shared with them by family members, and therefore the data reflect proxy comments. Feedback received by the working group indicates that SNODs were likely not to probe family responses, just recording 'family refused', 'No additional information' if in their view the discussion may lead to the family declining organ donation. The detail provided in the comments is constrained by the response format (i.e. a hand-written box) limiting the amount of information that SNODs could insert leading to wide variation in length of entries ranging between 1-187 words (median=6, IQR=7). Thus, both the frequency and content (i.e. type and level of detail) of recorded comments were variable.

We did not have access to the demographic data of potential donors included in primary data collection under the data sharing agreement, and therefore have not been able to include any related commentary. We are also unable to provide any commentary regarding the impact of legislative changes that took place in Wales (as of 1<sup>st</sup> December 2015) [44] during primary data collection for the service development initiative, as practice responses to these changes were still being developed and implemented.

#### **Conclusion and recommendations:**

In view of the reported 53% of the world's population not having access to the benefits of sight saving and sight restoring transplantation surgery [1] and over two million people in the UK living with sight loss [2] this paper presents important data that could help organisations and HCPs involved in approaching bereaved family member for eye donation re-design modes of approach and the structure of consent conversations. In view of the data reported that potentially, over 2,000 eyes did not become available for use in transplant operations and research due to family members declining this donation option, further research is needed focussed on the construction, delivery and content

of the donation conversation. We therefore propose the following recommendations for future service and communication strategy development.

- <u>Communicate propriety of the donation operation</u> The 'sacrifice' of an unscathed body could be an important barrier to actualising donation even in populations where there is a high level of awareness of the benefits of transplantation [45]. The propriety of the donation operation needs to be stressed in public education and in discussions with the bereaved family approached about organ donation as discovering what worries people about organ donation is the first step towards crafting more effective organ donation campaigns [34].
- Explore the potential of a disc-only corneal retrieval procedure to increase acceptance of donation Enucleation (removal) of the entire eye (as usual in the UK) has been reported as being a potential barrier to donation of eye tissue by relatives in view of disfigurement concerns. Removal of the corneoscleral disc only has been aligned with higher consent rates [46], however currently robust data about whether this would be a more acceptble intevention with decisin makers is missing. Reseach comparing consent rates for these two options would be a valuable addition to the knowledge base on which to base furture service planning.
- Improve public education regarding the donation process Public awareness campaigns, as well as consent conversations with families currently focus on the benefits of transplantation. In contrast, little public education has centred on the donation process itself which could prepare individuals for this potential life event. According to Siminoff of et al. (2001) "Since it is not reasonable to expect that family decision-makers can or even should relinquish strongly held beliefs about organ donation when experiencing the severe stress of a loved one's death, prior education is the best mechanism we may have to inform the public and prepare families for an organ donation request" [18, p.76].
- Explore how the request process affects acceptance of donation There remains significant room for improvement in the request process, as to date this pivotal aspect of the donation process has received little attention. Of note, there has been no research looking into the impact of the hierarchy of organs outlined in the consent conversation. For example, if a patient is suitable to donate all organs and tissues, the first organ mentioned is usually kidneys, followed by other abdominal organs and tissues, thoracic organs and tissues, then tissues (within which eyes are listed). It has been proposed that the order in which organs are requested may affect donation rates for eyes due to what has been referred to as 'list shock' the idea that family members may be overwhelmed by the 'list' of organ and tissue that can be donated (this term was first coined by Margaret Verble and Judy Worth (personal communication, 21.08.2020)).
- Explore processes for assessment of familial responses to information provided during the consent conversation future research should explore processes for assessing familial responses to information shared in consent conversation, and how HCPs conducting conversations may appropriately and sensitively explore areas that provoke a reaction (instead of avoiding them). Investigations of the latter type are of particular need in light of evidence indicating that many HCP's are poor *prima facie* judges of who may or may not be willing to donate [18].
- <u>Future research topics</u> topics for further research include: investigation of potential demographic and/or regional differences in reasons for decline of eye tissue; the impact of legislation changes (i.e. from 'opt-in' to

'opt-out' (deemed consent) on eye donation in each of the UK nations; and construction, delivery and content of donation consent conversations (e.g. exploring if and how systematic aspects of conversations related to seeking agreement to organ/tissue/eye donation may be related to outcomes (i.e. acceptance or refusal) [47].

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# **Competing interests**

EW and HG are employed by NHS Blood and Transplant.

EW was Chair of the Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017 working party within NHS Blood and Transplant.

TLS was an invited member of the Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017 working party within NHS Blood and Transplant.

#### **Author Contributions**

EW and HG facilitated access to primary data and reviewed early drafts of this paper.

TLS developed the idea of a secondary analysis and proposed undertaking this under the auspices of the Service Level Agreement that exists between NHSBT- TS and UoS. TLS provided specialist input into the analysis of free text comments, discussion, recommendations, and edited developing drafts.

MJB sourced secondary data from NHSBT and conducted secondary data analysis (descriptive statistics and qualitative content analysis), with input from BMS and TLS, and was responsible for primary authorship. All co-authors contributed substantially to the development of the paper and resulting recommendations.

# **Data sharing statement**

No additional unpublished data are available from this study.

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Additional File

Table 1 - Reasons for non-donation cases for eye tissue by category and major sub-category for the period 1st April 2014-3 1 | 1 April 2016 to 31 | 1 April 2016

Category	Sub-category		1 April 2014 to 31 March 2015		1 April 2015 to ₹1 March 2016 ♂		1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017		All Years	
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,			% of category	N	% of∕o categeRy	Ν	% of category	N	% of category	
	Decision made on personal views	195	0.43	154	0∰37	129	0.28	478	0.36	
	Decision made on disfigurement concerns	186	0.41	180	0 <b>5</b> 43	222	0.48	588	0.44	
Family wishes	Decision made on current physical/emotional state	13	0.03	12	0 <u>7</u> 03	27	0.06	52	0.04	
ranny wishes	Decision made on religious/cultural/spiritual grounds	4	0.01	12	0/203	5	0.01	21	0.02	
	Decision made on lack of knowledge	N/A	N/A	2	0 <u>.0</u> 0 0 <u>9</u> 14	1	0.00	3	0.00	
	Other/not specified family reasons	54	0.12	60		83	0.18	197	0.15	
Deceased wishes	Decision based on deceased prior registered wishes	54	0.79	50	0⊋74	24	0.55	128	0.71	
Deceased wishes	Decision based on deceased inferred wishes	14	0.21	18	0 <u>2</u> 26	20	0.45	52	0.29	
	Homicide / Murder / Manslaughter	7	0.14	8	0 <u>-1</u> 4	10	0.20	25	0.16	
Coroner refused	Sustained injury in custody/prison	3	0.06	1	0\frac{1}{2}02	2	0.04	6	0.04	
consent	Police refusal	18	0.35	N/A	N√A	1	0.02	19	0.12	
	Suspicious death	23	0.45	24	0.41	16	0.31	63	0.39	
	Other coroner reasons, please specify	51	1.00	24	031	22	0.43	97	0.61	
	High risk behaviour	61	0.25	74	<u></u>	58	0.17	193	0.23	
	Haemodilution	14	0.06	15	006	24	0.07	53	0.06	
Medical reasons	Neurological conditions of unknown cause	47	0.19	34	<b>₫</b> 3	44	0.13	125	0.15	
Wedical reasons	Positive virology	16	0.07	20	0308	10	0.03	46	0.05	
	Above age criteria	N/A	N/A	5	002	10	0.03	15	0.02	
	Other medical reasons, please specify	104	0.43	105	<u>&gt;</u> 0 <del>√</del> 42	200	0.58	409	0.49	
	Concerns about storage	1	0.02	2	0 34	3	0.03	6	0.03	
All other reasons	Other reasons, please specify	28	0.53	28	0,56	39	0.36	95	0.45	
	Not specified	24	0.45	20	020	67	0.61	111	0.52	

Table 2.1 Main reason for non-eye donation 1 April 2014 to 31 March 2015	n (all reasons)		
Reason for non-eye donation	N	(%)	
Decision based on deceased prior registered wishes ODR	35	(4.0)	
Driving licence	1	(0.1)	
Discussion with family	17	(1.9)	
Verbal or written statement in life	1	(0.1)	
Sub total	54	(6.1)	
Decision based on deceased inferred wishes Knew deceased wishes not to donate eyes	11	(1.2)	
Knew deceased wishes not to donate eyes	3	(0.3)	
Sub total	14	(1.6)	
Deceased wishes	68	(7.7)	
Decision made on personal views	25	(40.0)	
Do not want eyes removed (discomfort reasons)  I do not like the idea of eye donation	95 62	(10.8)	
UncomforTable with removal of whole eye	16	(7.0) (1.8)	
Personal connection/link to deceased eyes	22	(2.5)	
Sub total	195	(22.1)	
Decision made on disfigurement concerns			
Squeamishness, yuk factor	32	(3.6)	
Only organs	79	(9.0)	
Face not to be touched Concerns about how the deceased would look	61 12	(6.9)	
Nothing above the neck	2	(1.4) (0.2)	
Sub total	186	(21.1)	
Decision made on current physical/emotional state Family disagreement Family overwhelmed Influencing voice making decisions List shock Wanted something left Sub total	4 6 1 1 1	(0.5) (0.7) (0.1) (0.1) (0.1)	
Decision made on religious/cultural/spiritual grounds Need for eyes to be buried/cremated Need eyes to see in the afterlife Sub total	1 3 4	(0.1) (0.3) (0.5)	
		(515)	
Other/not specified family reasons Family other reasons, please specify	26	(3.0)	
Family, not specified	28	(3.2)	
Sub total	54	(6.1)	
Family wishes	452	(51.3)	
Reason for non-eye donation	N	(%)	
Coroner refused consent			
Homicide / Murder / Manslaughter	7	(8.0)	
Police refusal	3	(0.3)	
Suspicious death	18	(2.0)	
Other coroner reasons, please specify <b>Sub total</b>	23 <b>51</b>	(2.6) <b>(5.7)</b>	
Medical reasons			
High risk behaviour	61	(6.8)	
Haemodilution	14	(1.6)	
Neurological conditions of unknown cause	47	(5.3)	

Positive virology	16	(1.8)
Other medical reasons, please specify	104	(11.7)
Sub total	242	(27.1)
All other reasons		
Concerns about storage	1	(0.1)
Other reasons, please specify	28	(3.1)
Not specified	24	(2.7)
Sub total	53	(5.9)
TOTAL	892	(100.0)

Table 2.2	Main reason for non-eye donation 1 April 2015 to 31 March 2016	n (all reasons)	
Reason for non-eye d	onation	N	(%)
Decision based on de	ceased prior registered wishes		
ODR	, ,	21	(2.1)
Passport		1	(0.1)
Discussion with family Verbal or written state		22	(2.2)
Sub total	anen in me	6 <b>50</b>	(0.6) <b>(5.0)</b>
Decision based on de	ceased inferred wishes		
Knew deceased wishe		15	(1.5)
Perceived wishes with	n disfigurement	3	(0.3)
Sub total		18	(1.8)
Deceased wishes		68	(6.8)
Decision made on per			
Do not want eyes rem	loved (discomfort reasons)	54	(5.4)
I do not like the idea o		69	(6.9)
UncomforTable with representation Personal connection/li		10 21	(1.0) (2.1)
Sub total	ilik to deceased eyes	154	(15.5)
			( /
Decision made on dis			(1.5)
Squeamishness, yuk f	factor	40	(4.0)
Only organs Face not to be touche	.d	88 38	(8.9) (3.8)
	the deceased would look	13	(1.3)
Nothing above the ned		1	(0.1)
Sub total		180	(18.1)
Decision made on cur	rrent physical/emotional state		
Family tired	, ,	<b>(V</b> ) 1	(0.1)
Family disagreement		1	(0.1)
Family overwhelmed	ing desirions	5	(0.5)
Influencing voice mak List shock	ing decisions	1	(0.1) (0.1)
Wanted something lef	't	3	(0.3)
Sub total	•	12	(1.2)
	igious/cultural/spiritual grounds	12	(4.0)
Need eyes to see in the Sub total	ne arterine	12	(1.2) (1.2)
Cub total			(112)
Decision made on lac	•		
Family unaware that e		1	(0.1)
Family had questions <b>Sub total</b>	about the process	1 <b>2</b>	(0.1)
Sub total		2	(0.2)
Other/not specified fa	mily reasons		
Family other reasons,		26	(2.6)
Family, not specified		34	(3.4)
Sub total		60	(6.0)
Family wishes		420	(42.3)
Coroner refused cor		^	(0.0)
Homicide / Murder / M Sustained injury in cus		8 1	(0.9) (0.1)
Suspicious death	0.004)/p113011	25	(2.8)
			` -1

Other coroner reasons, please specify <b>Sub total</b>	24 <b>58</b>	(2.7) <b>(6.6)</b>	
Medical reasons			
High risk behaviour	74	(8.4)	
Haemodilution	15	(1.7)	
Neurological conditions of unknown cause	34	(3.9)	
Positive virology Above age criteria	20 5	(2.3) (0.6)	
Other medical reasons, please specify	105	(11.9)	
Sub total	253	(28.7)	
All other reasons		(a = )	
Concerns about storage	2	(0.2)	
Other reasons, please specify	28	(3.2)	
Not specified Sub total	20 <b>50</b>	(2.3) <b>(5.7)</b>	
TOTAL	881	(100.0)	

Table 2.3	Main reason for non-eye donation 1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017	on (all reasons)	
Reason for non-eye	donation	N	(%)
	deceased prior registered wishes		
ODR Discussion with fam	uily	13 6	(1.3) (0.6)
Verbal or written sta		5	(0.5)
Sub total		24	(2.4)
	deceased inferred wishes	40	(4.0)
Knew deceased wis   Perceived wishes w	thes not to donate eyes	18 2	(1.8) (0.2)
Sub total	in dongaromoni	20	(2.0)
Deceased wishes		44	(4.3)
Doginian made on r	porponal vious		
Decision made on p Do not want eyes re	emoved (discomfort reasons)	40	(3.9)
I do not like the idea		41	(4.0)
	h removal of whole eye	11	(1.1)
Personal connection  Sub total	n/link to deceased eyes	37 <b>129</b>	(3.6) <b>(12.7)</b>
Sub total		129	(12.7)
	lisfigurement concerns	05	(0.4)
Squeamishness, yu Only organs	K lactor	95 92	(9.4) (9.1)
Face not to be touch	hed	23	(2.3)
	w the deceased would look	10	(1.0)
Nothing above the r	neck	2 <b>222</b>	(0.2) <b>(21.9)</b>
		222	(21.9)
Decision made on c Family tired	current physical/emotional state	3	(0.3)
Family disagreemer	nt	5	(0.5)
Family overwhelmed	d	6	(0.6)
Influencing voice ma	aking decisions	1	(0.1)
List shock Wanted something	left	1 11	(0.1) (1.1)
Sub total		27	(2.7)
Decision made on r	eligious/cultural/spiritual grounds		
Need eyes to see in		5	(0.5)
Sub total		5	(0.5)
Decision made on la			(
Family had question Sub total	ns about the process	1 <b>1</b>	(0.1) <b>(0.1)</b>
Sub total		· ·	(0.1)
Other/not specified	-	05	(2.4)
Family other reason Family, not specified		35 48	(3.4) (4.7)
Sub total	u .	83	(8.2)
Family wishes		467	(46.0)
Coroner refused c		40	(4.0)
Homicide / Murder / Sustained injury in o		10 2	(1.0) (0.2)
Police refusal	240t04y/p1130f1	1	(0.2)
Suspicious death		16	(1.6)
Other coroner reaso	ons, please specify	22	(2.2)
Sub total		51	(5.1)

58 24 44 10 10 200 <b>346</b>	(5.8) (2.4) (4.4) (1.0) (1.0) (20.1) (34.8)	
3 39 67 <b>109</b>	(0.3) (3.9) (6.7) <b>(11.0)</b>	
1017	(100.0)	
	24 44 10 10 200 <b>346</b> 3 3 39 67 <b>109</b> <b>1017</b>	24 (2.4) 44 (4.4) 10 (1.0) 10 (1.0) 200 (20.1) 346 (34.8)  3 (0.3) 39 (3.9) 67 (6.7) 109 (11.0)  1017 (100.0)

# **BMJ Open**

Family Refusal of eye tissue donation from potential solid organ donors – a retrospective analysis of summary and free-text data from the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Services (NHS-BT) National Referral Centre (1st April 2014 – 31st March 2017).

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Family Refusal of eye tissue donation from potential solid organ donors – a retrospective analysis of summary and free-text data from the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Services (NHS-BT)

National Referral Centre (1st April 2014 – 31st March 2017).

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#### **Abstract**

**Objectives:** Long-standing undersupply of eye tissue exists both in the UK and globally, and the UK National Health Service Blood and Transplant Service (NHSBT) has called for further research exploring barriers to eye donation. This study aims to: I) describe reported reasons for non-donation of eye tissue from solid organ donors in the UK between 1st April 2014–31st March 2017; II) discuss these findings with respect to existing theories relating to non-donation of eyes by family members.

**Design:** Secondary analysis of a national primary data set of recorded reasons for non-donation of eyes from 2790 potential solid organ donors. Data analysis including descriptive statistics and qualitative content analysis of free-text data for 126 recorded cases of family decline of eye donation.

**Setting:** National data set covering solid organ donation (secondary care).

**Participants:** 2790 potential organ donors assessed for eye donation eligibility between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017.

**Results**: Reasons for non-retrieval of eyes were recorded as: family wishes (n=1339, 48% of total cases); medical reasons (n=841, 30%); deceased wishes (n=180, 7%). In >50% of recorded cases, reasons for non-donation were based on: family's knowledge of the deceased wishes, their perception of the deceased wishes, and specific concerns regarding processes or effects of eye donation (for the deceased body). Findings are discussed with respect to existing theoretical perspectives.

**Conclusion**: Eye donation involves distinct psychological and socio-cultural factors for families and HCPs that have not been fully explored in research or integrated into service design. We propose areas for future research and service development including: potential of only retrieving corneal discs as opposed to full eyes to reduce disfigurement concerns; public education regarding donation processes; exploration of how request processes potentially influence acceptance of eye donation; procedures for assessment of familial responses to information provided during consent conversations.

Keywords: secondary analysis, eye donation, cornea, consent, family decline of donation

# Strengths and limitations of this study

- This secondary analysis paper is the first reporting of primary data discussing reasons for non-donation of eyes recorded by Specialist Nurses in Organ Donation (SNODs) for 2790 potential solid organ donors in the UK.
- The authors applied qualitative content analysis to free-text data and discuss findings in relation to existing theoretical perspectives to identify areas for further research and service development.
- The paper reports proxy commentary recorded as free text data generated by SNODs when recording reasons provided by family members for declining donation of eye tissue, and therefore is limited in depth of detail available for reporting.
- Due to study design limitations, factors that may have influenced family decision making (i.e. potential donor demographics/regional differences, changes in legislation) cannot be addressed in this paper.
- Due to data sharing restrictions the paper presents descriptive statistics only.

# **Background**

Globally, 53% of the world's population has no access to the benefits of sight saving and sight restoring transplantation surgery due to a short fall in the supply of ophthalmic tissue (cornea and sclera) that is only available via eye donation [1]. According to Pascolini et al. (2010) over 10 million people worldwide have bilateral corneal blindness which could be restored with a corneal transplant [1]. According to the Royal National Institute of Blind (RNIB) over two million people in the UK are living with sight loss [2] caused by conditions such as Keratoconus and Fuchs' Corneal Dystrophy, that can be treated if eye tissue is available (e.g. by corneal transplantation and reconstructive surgery). Eye tissue is also needed for research into a wide variety of eye diseases, for example endothelial failure post-cataract surgery [3]. The RNIB report that approximately 5,000 corneal transplants are required annually in the UK to address disease and injury resulting in sight loss, with costs to the UK economy (unpaid carer burden and reduced employment rates) reported as £4.34 billion annually [2]. Critically, the organisation predicts predicted that by 2050 the number of people with sight loss will double to nearly four million [2]. It is therefore imperative that the tissue needed to intervene in these conditions via corneal transplantation, reconstructive surgery, glaucoma surgery, and research into the causes and treatment of eye disease is available

However, there is a long-standing shortfall in supply of eye tissue in the UK and globally, with eyes being the least donated of all organs and tissues when decision makers are offered a 'list' that they need to agree to that can be retrieved for use in transplantation (n.b. as eyes are referred to as both organs and tissues in different contexts, we will refer to them as organs from here on) [4,5]. The UK National Health Services Blood and Transplant (NHSBT) Eye Bank in Speke, Liverpool and Bristol (who supply most eye tissue used for surgical purposes in the UK) seeks to have 10 eye donors per day consistently to satisfy demand for the treatment of patients. This number is not consistently met.

Increasing supply is a key strategic aim for NHSBT Tissue and Eye Services Division [6] and they, along with the UK Royal College of Ophthalmology (RCO) [7], have expressed a need for research exploring barriers to eye donation. This knowledge is needed not only as a basis for developing new routes to supply, but also to inform guidance underpinning donation conversations with family members who are approached to consider the option of eye donation. Increasing supply requires understanding of how patients and families relate to eye tissue donation (i.e. attitudes, beliefs, information needs etc.) and how these processes shape donation outcomes, specifically family members declining eye donation.

Eye donation from solid organ donors continues to prove problematic, with slow progress in increasing supply from this specific cohort of donors. For example, eye donation from solid organ donors generated 320 eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2015 to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2016 [4], and 446 eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2019 to 31<sup>st</sup> March 2020 [8]. Current evidence indicates that nationally on average only 40% (range 31-64%) of next-of-kin (NoK) agree to eye donation when approached to consider solid organ donation, whilst 67% of NoK agree to solid organ donation [5], and therefore what contributes to this difference is an important area for investigation.

In this paper we aim to contribute to the knowledge base around non-donation of eye tissue from solid organ donors by reporting, for the first time, national clinical data collected and provided by NHS Blood and Transplant between 2014–2017, aligned with key theoretical perspectives reported to explain donating behaviours. This body of work from the past 30 years will advance knowledge and understanding of the reasons why of all organs and tissues that can be donated, eyes remain the least donated organ [4,5].

# Study objectives:

- i. Describe the reported reasons why eye donation did not take place from potential solid organ donors in the UK between  $1^{st}$  April  $2014 31^{st}$  March 2017.
- ii. Discuss these findings in the context of existing theoretical perspectives relating to non-donation of eyes by family members

# Study design

To gain further insight into the factors leading to low numbers of eyes being secured from solid organ donation, a working party (Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017) was convened with the remit to: plan and action an effective response to demand and supply problems; and make evidence-based recommendations to NHSBT and external stakeholders regarding potential service development that would impact on the current low supply of eye tissue.

# Ethical approval

Ethical approval was not required for this secondary analysis of previously collected primary data. Primary data collected as part of the service development was shared with the UOS team in line with a Service Level Agreement (SLA) between UOS and NHSBT Tissue and Eye Services Division since 2007. The sharing, analysis and reporting of data was carried out in line with a UK Transplant Registry Data Release agreement relating to UK General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) 2018, the UK Data Protection Act 2018, the UK Human Rights Act 1998, and the UK Common Law Duty of Confidentiality.

#### Patient and Public involvement

The paper presents a secondary analysis of primary data collected by NHSBT Tissue Services as part of a service development initiative. As such there were no patients or members of the public involved in the design or conduct of the primary service development initiative. No dissemination of the primary data has occurred until this secondary analysis. As part of secondary analysis carried out by UOS team, and in line with the team's commitment to the value of PPI input, a summary of key findings was made to members of the NHSBT Tissue Services Donor Advisory Group (DAG), which includes next of kin of donating patients and public representatives). Members were invited to ask questions as part of an update to their regular meeting in Q4 2020.

#### **Data collection**

Data for 2790 potential\* donors from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, assessed for eligibility to donate eyes between 1st April 2014 and 31st March 2017, were collected using a standardised proforma (\*n.b. potential donor refers to a deceased person who could become an organ donor unless medical criteria for non-donation, or consent/authorisation is withheld by next of kin). Specialist Nurses in Organ Donation (SNODs) were requested to record reasons for non-procurement of eye tissue selecting from the domains listed in Table 1. SNODs were also asked to add further commentary via use of a free-text box. Data was gathered by SNODs with the requirement that they complete data collection for each potential donor following discussion with family members and other stakeholders (e.g. coroner). Data for each SNOD were collated into a monthly regional team returns to the NHSBT statistical team, who generated descriptive statistical data reported in this paper. Data were collected over three years, with a cessation in 2018 due to the operationalisation of eye donation moving from the Organ Donation and Transplant division of NHSBT to its Tissue and Eye Services division. The full data set for descriptive statistics relating to non-procurement of eye tissue is presented in *Additional File 1 (Tables 1-2.3)* – however this paper focuses on data relating specifically to *family decline of eye donation*.

### **Analysis**

Secondary Analysis [9] included generation of descriptive statistics on reasons for non-donation of eyes recorded by SNODs for 2790 potential donors (Table 1) and application of qualitative content analysis [10] to free-text data for 126 recorded reasons for family decline of eye donation. Analysis of free-text data was undertaken using Nvivo computer-assisted qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software (version 12) [11].

As international empirical evidence from the past 30 years indicates, eye donation involves reactions that do not impact other forms of donation including: discomfort reactions [12,13], disfigurement [3], the belief that eyes will be needed in the afterlife, eyes being viewed as the 'windows to the soul' [6,14], as well as disgust-related aversion ('yuk'/'ick factor') (findings from this national dataset have been grouped under these headings).

The aim of the analytic process was to generate a descriptive analysis of data recording reasons for non-donation of eye tissue as reported by SNODs (Objective 1), and to underpin a theoretically informed discussion aimed at unpacking the key reasons why family members decline the option of eye donation when this is a possibility (i.e. no medical reasons for non-donation are evident) (Objective 2). By engaging with existing theory regarding donation decision making, this paper also aims to inform interventions that can lead to an increase in donation of eye tissue for use in transplant operations.

# **Descriptive statistics**

Reasons for non-donation of eye tissue (overview)

The data related to 2790 potential donors from England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, assessed for eligibility to donate eyes between 1<sup>st</sup> April 2014 and 31<sup>st</sup> March 2017, but from whom eye tissue was not retrieved (reporting periods cover UK financial year, see Table 1). The most common reasons for non-retrieval of eyes were: family wishes (n=1339, 48% of total cases); medical reasons (n=841, 30%); deceased wishes (n=180, 7%); and coroner refusal (n=160,

6%), with 'All other reasons' accounting for n=212 (8%) of cases (reasons were not recorded in n=58 (2%) cases – see Table 1). The reporting in this paper will focus on data related to **family and deceased wishes** only as these contribute to over 50% of recorded reasons why eye donation did not proceed when donation discussions took place.

Table 1 – Summary of recorded reasons for non-donation of eye tissue from potential solid organ donors for the period 1<sup>st</sup>
April 2014-31<sup>st</sup> March 2017 (focus categories for this paper are shaded grey).

Period	Fam wisl	-	Med reas			eased shes		oner used		other sons	(Reasons recorde		тс	TAL
Periou	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(%)	N	(% all years)
1 April 2014 to 31														
March 2015	452	0.51	242	0.27	68	0.08	51	0.06	53	0.06	26	0.03	892	0.32
1 April 2015 to 31														
March 2016	420	0.48	253	0.29	68	0.08	58	0.07	50	0.06	32	0.04	881	0.32
1 April 2016 to 31														
March 2017	467	0.46	346	0.34	44	0.04	51	0.05	109	0.11	0	0	1017	0.36
All years	1339	0.48	841	0.3	180	0.07	160	0.06	212	0.08	58	0.02	2790	

Decline of eye donation based on family and deceased wishes

Where non-procurement of eye tissue was recorded under *Family wishes* (n=1339), the most common reasons related to disfigurement concerns (n=588, 44% of family decline), or 'personal views' about eye donation held by Next of Kin (NoK) (n=478, 36% - see Table 2).

For cases where non-procurement of eye tissue was recorded under *Deceased's wishes* (n=180 cases, 7% of total), 128 (71% of deceased wishes cases) were due to the fact that the deceased had registered (on the organ donor register, which is always checked by SNODs in preparation for discussing donation options) that they did not want to donate eye tissue. A further 52 (29%) cases of non-procurement of eye tissue resulted from discussions with NoK where they stated that the deceased's wish not to donate eyes was known to them – see Table 2.

Table 2 – Reasons for non-donation of eye tissue from potential solid organ donors by category and major sub-category for the period 1st April 2014-31st March 2017.

Domain	Sub-domain	1 April 2014 to 31 March 2015		1 April 2015 to 31 March 2016		1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017		All Years	
Domain	Sub-domain		% of		% of		% of		
		Ν	category	Ν	category	Ν	category	Ν	% of category
	Decision made on								
Family	personal views	195	0.43	154	0.37	129	0.28	478	0.36
wishes	Decision made on								
	disfigurement concerns	186	0.41	180	0.43	222	0.48	588	0.44

	Decision made on current physical/emotional state	13	0.03	12	0.03	27	0.06	52	0.04
	Decision made on religious/cultural/spiritual								
	grounds	4	0.01	12	0.03	5	0.01	21	0.02
	Decision made on lack of								
	knowledge	N/A*	N/A*	2	0.00	1	0.00	3	0.00
	Other/not specified								
	family reasons**	54	0.12	60	0.14	83	0.18	197	0.15
	Decision based on								
0	deceased prior registered								
Deceased wishes	wishes	54	0.79	50	0.74	24	0.55	128	0.71
wisries	Decision based on								
	deceased inferred wishes	14	0.21	18	0.26	20	0.45	52	0.29

<sup>\*</sup>category was not included in data collection for this period.

Findings from analysis of free-text data (family decline)

Table 3 lists results of content analysis, showing all resulting categories of recorded reasons for family decline (n = 126). Of note is that in 65 cases (10%) of SNODs reporting 'family refused', 'No additional information' was recorded in the free-text comment box. For these cases, we therefore have no information on which to base any commentary regarding family decline. The findings and discussion are therefore related to the italicised categories in Table 3 (n=61 cases within this group).

Table 3 - Summary of free-text comments relating to family reasons for decline of eye tissue donation from potential solid organ donors

		Cases (% of n=126 cases with free-text comment relating to family
Family Reasons Categories	Cases (n)*	reasons)
No additional information	65	0.52
Family uncomfortable with eye donation	22	0.17
Family reasons indicated but case not classified as		0.13
either '88-Family, not specified' or '87-Family other		
reasons, please specify'	17	
Consent for Solid organ donation but not eyes	10	0.08
Nothing 'visible' to be removed	7	0.06
Family withdrew initial consent	6	0.05
Family Infer Patient Wishes		
(e.g. NoK recorded as indicating deceased 'would not		
have wanted' eye donation)	3	0.02
Family refuse moving of body for retrieval	3	0.02
No ODR restrictions but family refuse eye donation	2	0.02
Family reasons due to religious reasons	2	0.02
Tendons only	1	0.01
Family wish to donate to scientific research	1	0.01
Family believed patient ineligible due to medical		0.01
contraindication	1	
Family member worried that they may inadvertently		
work with tissues in professional role in donated but		
not transplanted	1	0.01

<sup>\*</sup>Note: cases do not equal 126 as some can belong to more than one category (e.g. a comment could relate to both 'Consent for Solid organ donation but not eyes' and 'No ODR restrictions but family refuse eye donation')

<sup>\*\*</sup>Includes sub-domains inviting free-text comment (i.e. 'please specify')

# Findings from analysis of free-text comments

Cases are reported as a percentage of the 126 free text comments available relating to family refusal (% of n=126).

#### Discomfort reactions

For 22 cases (17%) free-text responses recorded by SNODs indicated family discomfort with eye donation. In addition to general expressions of discomfort with eye donation comments also referred to personal attachment to the eyes of the deceased, which influenced family decision making (examples Textbox 1).

Textbox 1. Recorded family comments relating to discomfort reactions to eye tissue donation.

[B]rothers who had had discussion and all felt "funny" about eyes.

Family did not like the idea of eye donation.

Family reported they didn't like the idea of someone else seeing through their loved ones eyes'...

'Family did not want eyes removing as they felt they were part of her'

Family were very much against eye donation as they said they were "windows to the soul"

... eyes refused as wife couldn't bear the thought of him without them.

Partner believed the eyes were the window to the soul

# Disfigurement concerns

Linked to discomfort reactions, concerns about disfiguring the body of the deceased was raised by seven family members (6%) with SNODs recording that family members only wanted solid organs to be retrieved. It is notable that comments include words and phrases such as *'nothing visible, 'external'*, *and 'outside'* underlining that family members are concerned about how the body will look post donation (Textbox 2).

Textbox 2. Recorded family comments relating to disfigurement concerns.

This is how we saw him

Family did not like the thought of external surgery to the body other than through the initial operation site.

Family did not want anything "external" donated

Family did not want eye donation as not wanting anything visible

Family not wanting the face touching

Only wanted internal organs donated, nothing from the "outside"

# Solid organ only - not eye tissue!

As well as concerns about disfigurement and the reported wish that 'nothing visible be removed' in a further 10 cases (8%), family consent was recorded as being given for solid organs but declined for eyes. In Textbox 3, we see examples of differing decisions recorded for tissues (eyes are also referred to as tissues) and solid organs. Some comments record SNOD-perceived strength of feeling as a factor restricting further discussion about eye donation. Of note here is that we do not have evidence indicating on what basis the assessment about 'appropriateness' is based (e.g. "Parents did not wish to donate anything other than liver and kidneys not appropriate to ask as risking loss of donation") or how much time was taken in this approach for donation. Higher consent/authorisation rates are

reported when parents perceive that they have had adequate time to discuss donation within the family and with the healthcare team [15,16]. In one case, we see a priority invoked as the reason for decline, 'life saving organs only' suggesting that a value was being associated with different organ or tissues.

Textbox 3. Recorded family comments relating to reasons for eye tissue accompanying consent for solid organs.

[Family] did not want any tissue donation organs are enough.

Family did not want any tissue donation only solid organs

Family only wanted kidneys donated, no other reason given.

Family very uncomfortable with tissue donation and only wanted organs as they cannot be seen

Kidneys only would not discuss anything else

Life-saving organs only

On ODR no restrictions, partner consented to kidney only, nothing else.

Parents did not wish to donate anything other than liver and kidneys not appropriate to ask as risking loss of donation

Wife wanted solid organs only

Son certain he did not want to donate eyes, or any tissue. Was a very strong no to tissue and did not elaborate too much despite open questioning.

#### Change in decision-making

Six cases (5%) described initial consent for eye donation being provided by families which was later withdrawn (see Textbox 4). Comments suggest the potential influence of post-decision dissonance (see *Discussion* section) [17] and the impact of wider family views stimulating a reversal of the decision to agree to eye donation.

[Father] changed his mind after consent provided.

Even though partner consented initially, family wanted patient embalmed and wanted body home ASAP.

Family withdrew consent as needed quick release.

Family withdrew eye consent, reason not specified.

Initial consent provided for eyes and skin but then changed their mind, no reason given.

Parents consented for all tissues but withdrew consent whilst visiting him in Chapel of rest saying he had 'given enough' and they did not want him to be touched anymore

Textbox 4.

Recorded

family

comments

relating to a

change in

decision to

donate eyes.

# Discussion

The data presented in this study indicate that the main reason for non-procurement of eye tissue from potential solid organ donors in the UK is the decline of this option by bereaved family members. One thousand, three hundred and thirty-nine approaches for eye donation resulted in family decline, despite this being a valid donation option over the time period of data collection. Therefore, potentially, over 2,000 eyes did not become available for use in transplant operations and research into eye diseases resulting in loss of sight due to family decline.

This picture of potential donor eyes not becoming available in the context of solid organ donation is reflected in the global literature, with authors in the USA reporting that of 10,000 potential solid organ donors where a consent rate of 47% for organ donation was achieved, only 24% eye donation consent rate was achieved [18]. Reporting data from a survey carried out with 371 individuals renewing their driving licence in Sydney Australia, authors indicated that of 369 participants who responded to questions related to willingness to donate corneas, 153 (41%) indicated that they would not [19]. This reluctance for eye donation is not just reflected in Western contexts (e.g. Europe, North America, Australasia): for example, Acharya et al. (2019) surveyed 407 bereaved NoK of potential eye donors in Delhi (India), reporting that the majority 239 (59%) of NoK would decline eye donation [20]. Commentary from all three papers highlight concerns regarding disfigurement, discomfort with the thought of eye removal, and spiritual/atheistic links to the eyes.

The comments illustrated in textboxes 1-4 support the findings from international literature, that personal attitudes to and beliefs about the propriety of eye donation are influential in shaping negative orientations toward this option and thus to decline of donation when it is raised with NoK.

#### How can we understand these reactions?

Concerns with, and negative reactions to the option of eye donation, as well as the critical shortage of eye tissue for use in transplant operations and research, are persistent and pervasive in the UK and across many other parts of the world. Therefore, we will now discuss these factors in light of theoretical work aimed at illuminating factors underpinning these outcomes. The discussion will look at theories developed from social cognitive psychology, which outline general concepts influencing behaviour, and more specific theories/models focussed on psychological concepts that propose explanations for the reactions reported both in these data and the wider global literature. Whilst an exhaustive review of relevant theory is not possible in this paper, we focus on application of key findings and thinking to the national recorded data analysed here with the aim of: I) making recommendations to guide communication with patients, carers or other NoK when making an approach regarding the option of eye donation; II) stimulating thinking on communications strategy (e.g. future publicity and campaigns) by organisations responsible for securing a reliable and sufficient supply of eye tissue.

# Social Cognitive models

Most early studies exploring factors influencing individual donation decision making applied concepts laid out in social-cognitive models such as the Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA) [21] and the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) [22,23]. Horton and Horton (1991) developed one of the earliest models proposing that the action of signing or requesting an organ donor card and willingness to donate own, or a deceased loved one's organs after death was a product of: *values, knowledge, attitudes (toward donation), willingness* and *action* [24]. Their path analysis and causal modelling study included two cohorts of participants: University students (N= 295), and members of the public (N = 465). Whilst establishing that the tested concepts were related to donation decision making, it was also clear from results that there was no linear causal relationship between knowledge, values, attitudes, willingness, and action related to donation behaviours [24]. Further modelling by Radecki and Jaccard (1999) identifying barriers to sharing donation intentions with legal next of kin supported the general finding that behavioural intention (or willingness) does not predict action [25].

This brief review reminds us that while prior attitudes toward a behaviour are influential, that they do not 'ensure' action will follow intention. Models such as TRA [21] and TPB [22,23] are fundamentally models that presume a process of rational decision making that is not evidenced in studies where donating and non-donating family decision makers have been included and interviewed.

For example. research by Kopfman and Smith (1996) aimed at informing donation campaigns introduced new thinking by looking both at concepts such as 'knowledge, attitudes and intention to donate' and identifying that those who measured low in intent to donate were more likely to 'have inaccurate knowledge about donation and gain lower scores on a measure for altruism' – and also highlighting that 'those low in intention felt that signing a donor card would be frightening' [26]. We see here one of the first instances of what have been referred to as non-rational [26] or later non-cognitive factors [27,28] (anxiety/fear) being reported. Further work by authors carrying out qualitative research increasingly identified deeply held beliefs and feelings that were reported as influencing the decision to donate organs of self and others, or register an intent to become an organ donor on death, including: anxiety, mistrust, superstition-based fear and views about what should or should not be done to a body post death [12–14,17,18,27,29–32].

# Sanner's Discomfort Reactions

We gain some important insights if we revisit Sanner's work exploring public views of post-death procedures on the body [12,13]. Although this work was carried out in the 1990's with 400 members of the public aged from 18–75 years, Sanner identified particular 'discomfort reactions' in relation to post-death procedures that are both relevant and of value in moving forward our understanding of reactions to requests for eye donation. Interviews with three subgroups selected from the original 400 who represented negative, positive, and undecided views regarding donating their own organs identified that people with "intense discomfort reactions tended to ignore or suppress positive motives (e.g. attitudes, intentions) toward donating organs" [12].

Sanner identified 600 statements that referred to what may or may not be done to the body after death, and after content analysis of these statements she constructed 20 'motive' categories. These categories were analysed to 'discern psychologically meaningful reaction patterns' by applying a frame of reference based on psychodynamic defence theory, and resulted in six central motive complexes [13] (Table 4).

Table 4 – Motive complexes and categories relating to discomfort reactions to post-death procedures (Sanner, 1994)

Motive complexes	Sanner's motive categories (for details see Sanner, 1994) [13]					
The illusion of lingering life	Uneasiness at the thought of cutting the dead body					
	2. Anxiety about not keeping the dead body intact					
	3. Discomfort with donation of certain organs					
	4. Difficulty with cutting children					
	5. Fear of destruction (of the body)					
	6. Uneasiness with exposure (via autopsy or dissection)					
	7. Fear of disrespect for the dead person					
	9. Discomfort with changes in appearance					
	11. Apprehension about the funeral					
	13. Discomfort at giving useless organs					
Protection of the value of the	5. Fear of destruction					
individual	7. Fear of disrespect for the dead person					
	9. Discomfort with changes in appearance					
	10. Apprehension about the funeral					
	13. Discomfort of giving useless organs					
	15. Distrust of the doctors					
Distress, anxiety and alienation	14. Problems with the concept of death					
	15. Distrust of the doctors					
	16. Anxiety about biomedical and social development					
Respecting the limits set by	12. Dislike of having one's organ surviving in another body or having another organ living					
nature/God	on in one's own body					
	17. Anxiety about offending God/nature					
Altruism	18. Helpfulness and solidarity					
	19. Contribution to medical research					
Rationality	20. Organs from the deceased can be used in the treatment of the living					

Not only can we see these discomfort reactions articulated in the free-text comments recorded during data collection by SNODs in our own findings (Textboxes 1-4), we can also see that non-rational reactions have been evidenced by other authors and include: fear that doctors would hasten the death of declared donors in order to procure transplantable organs [18], belief that donation would negatively impact rebirth or reincarnation (deceased would be reborn blind) [33], and later work identifying the impact of emotional beliefs including the 'ick' factor and the role of 'Body Integrity' [29] (for a detailed view of all variables tested in development of the Organ Donor Model (ODM) see Morgan et al. [27,29,34]). The 'ick' factor and concerns about body integrity are of particular relevance to eye donation and will therefore be discussed in more detail.

#### The lck factor and Bodily Integrity

According to Morgan et al (2008) [29] *Ick factors* are those related to a basic disgust response to the idea of eye donation, as it involves what may be perceived by family members as interventions that are disfiguring and even disrespectful. Fear of body disfigurement is proposed as triggering defensive emotions that according to Parisi and Katz, "seem to be deeply rooted in the unconscious and to have relatively little cognitive content" (1986: 576) [35]. These defensive emotions are influenced by sociocultural and psychological factors developed early in childhood,

strongly influenced by one's particular culture and ethnicity, and which are reported by Sherman and Sherman (2001) to be resistant to modification [36]. Furthermore, defensive emotions and reactions are reported to underpin donation-negative attitudes and carry more weight in the decision-making process than donation-favourable ones. These findings potentially provide insight into why persuasive attempts that focus on rational messages fail or are less successful than expected by organisations that oversee donation and transplantation services.

A final comment here is the reference in Textbox 1 to 'eyes being the windows to the soul'. This perception has been reported in a number of studies exploring eye donation and links to both the belief in the need to maintain the integrity of the body after death [37] and a concern about the deceased not being able to see in the afterlife [14,37,38]. For some "eyes, more than any other body part, personify an individual" [17, p.1190] and therefore have greater potential to stimulate 'dissonance' for individuals approached to consider the option of eye donation.

# Cognitive dissonance and the context of death

Cognitive dissonance is described as an emotional state set up when two simultaneously held cognitions are inconsistent or when there is a conflict between beliefs and overt behaviour [39]. Therefore, relating this to eye donation, dissonance arises when family members approached to consider eye donation are aware (for example by media campaigns such as 'Give the gift of sight') [40] or are made aware (e.g. by SNODS, or other family members) that eye donation can reverse blindness and have to rationalise their aversion/disgust/discomfort of eye removal which they perceive as an integral part of the person they love (as indicated in Textbox 1). Lawlor and Kerridge (2014) go so far as to suggest that despite participants in their study "recognising the potential good that could come from corneal donation, many still maintained that removing the eyes would potentially have a significant adverse effect on their ongoing relationship with the deceased"[14, p.62].

We propose that non-cognitive factors including: discomfort reactions, disfigurement concerns, the ick factor and the importance of body integrity are key areas of emotional and psychological conflict for family members approached to consider eye donation. In their secondary analysis of primary data from donating and non-donating family members in the UK, Long et al (2008) proposed that family members engage in a series of practical and psychological activities aimed at rationalising real or potential emotional and cognitive conflict when faced with the option of donation post death of a family member [17]. If family members are not able to rationalise *conflict (e.g. sacrifice of an intact body to a perceived disfiguring operation even if it is for the benefit of others*) NoK will decline donation.

A key context missing from social cognitive models and also much qualitative research into barriers to donation is the context of death. Apart from living donation, solid organ donation cannot proceed until someone has died, in the case of solid organ a death that is sudden and unexpected. Death not only robs the next-of-kin of a significant relationship, but also robs them of many of their usual coping mechanisms, imposing a sequence of events that Sque et al (2003) describe as leaving family members feeling dispossessed of physical and psychological equilibrium [30].

Furthermore, from a sociological perspective, Kellehear (2008) remarks that an understanding of "dying as a social relationship' [is] vital to understanding the levels of disagreement with organ donation due to the social basis of attachment, meaning-making and identity" [41, p.1541]. Responses indicating attachment to the deceased (e.g. 'family reported they didn't like the idea of someone else seeing through their loved ones eyes, Textbox 1), as well as the need for an intact body (e.g. 'only wanted internal organs donated, nothing from the outside', Textbox 2) are evidenced in the national data set analysed in this paper, alongside the importance of the identity of the deceased (e.g. 'eyes refused as wife couldn't bear the thought of him without them', Textbox 1). It is in this emotional landscape that the topic of eye donation is raised, a context that appears unique to eye donation. It is therefore essential that those making the approach to request eye donation understand the non-rational, emotional, and sociological factors underpinning NoK decision-making if an increase in the donation of eyes is to be achieved.

Whilst messages to support positive attitudes toward donation are now embedded in social and other media campaigns in the UK (e.g. Giving the 'Gift of Sight' [42], 'Yes I Donate' etc. [43]), messages employed to reduce negative attitudes have not taken sufficient account of the psychological, emotional and sociological factors that are specifically relevant to the donation of eye tissue. As stated in the introduction, eyes are the least donated organ and this, we argue, is because the thought of removing the eyes may stimulate intense discomfort reactions, such as disgust, concerns of visible disfigurement and dissonance that suppress positive motives (e.g. attitudes) toward donating eyes.

#### Limitations

Data were generated by SNODs who recorded reasons shared with them by family members, and therefore the data reflect proxy comments. Feedback received by the working group indicates that SNODs were likely not to probe family responses, just recording 'family refused', 'No additional information' if in their view the discussion may lead to the family declining organ donation. The detail provided in the comments is constrained by the response format (i.e. a hand-written box) limiting the amount of information that SNODs could insert leading to wide variation in length of entries ranging between 1-187 words (median=6, IQR=7). Thus, both the frequency and content (i.e. type and level of detail) of recorded comments were variable.

We did not have access to the demographic data of potential donors included in primary data collection under the data sharing agreement, and therefore have not been able to include any related commentary. We are also unable to provide any commentary regarding the impact of legislative changes that took place in Wales (as of 1<sup>st</sup> December 2015) [44] during primary data collection for the service development initiative, as practice responses to these changes were still being developed and implemented.

#### **Conclusion and recommendations:**

In view of the reported 53% of the world's population not having access to the benefits of sight saving and sight restoring transplantation surgery [1] and over two million people in the UK living with sight loss [2] this paper presents important data that could help organisations and HCPs involved in approaching bereaved family member for eye donation re-design modes of approach and the structure of consent conversations. In view of the data reported that potentially, over 2,000 eyes did not become available for use in transplant operations and research due to family members declining this donation option, further research is needed focussed on the construction, delivery and content

of the donation conversation. We therefore propose the following recommendations for future service and communication strategy development.

- <u>Communicate propriety of the donation operation</u> The 'sacrifice' of an unscathed body could be an important barrier to actualising donation even in populations where there is a high level of awareness of the benefits of transplantation [45]. The propriety of the donation operation needs to be stressed in public education and in discussions with the bereaved family approached about organ donation as discovering what worries people about organ donation is the first step towards crafting more effective organ donation campaigns [34].
- Explore the potential of a disc-only corneal retrieval procedure to increase acceptance of donation Enucleation (removal) of the entire eye (as usual in the UK) has been reported as being a potential barrier to donation of eye tissue by relatives in view of disfigurement concerns. Removal of the corneoscleral disc only has been aligned with higher consent rates [46], however currently robust data about whether this would be a more acceptble intevention with decisin makers is missing. Reseach comparing consent rates for these two options would be a valuable addition to the knowledge base on which to base furture service planning.
- Improve public education regarding the donation process Public awareness campaigns, as well as consent conversations with families currently focus on the benefits of transplantation. In contrast, little public education has centred on the donation process itself which could prepare individuals for this potential life event. According to Siminoff of et al. (2001) "Since it is not reasonable to expect that family decision-makers can or even should relinquish strongly held beliefs about organ donation when experiencing the severe stress of a loved one's death, prior education is the best mechanism we may have to inform the public and prepare families for an organ donation request" [18, p.76].
- Explore how the request process affects acceptance of donation There remains significant room for improvement in the request process, as to date this pivotal aspect of the donation process has received little attention. Of note, there has been no research looking into the impact of the hierarchy of organs outlined in the consent conversation. For example, if a patient is suitable to donate all organs and tissues, the first organ mentioned is usually kidneys, followed by other abdominal organs and tissues, thoracic organs and tissues, then tissues (within which eyes are listed). It has been proposed that the order in which organs are requested may affect donation rates for eyes due to what has been referred to as 'list shock' the idea that family members may be overwhelmed by the 'list' of organ and tissue that can be donated (this term was first coined by Margaret Verble and Judy Worth (personal communication, 21.08.2020)).
- Explore processes for assessment of familial responses to information provided during the consent conversation future research should explore processes for assessing familial responses to information shared in consent conversation, and how HCPs conducting conversations may appropriately and sensitively explore areas that provoke a reaction (instead of avoiding them). Investigations of the latter type are of particular need in light of evidence indicating that many HCP's are poor *prima facie* judges of who may or may not be willing to donate [18].
- <u>Future research topics</u> topics for further research include: investigation of potential demographic and/or regional differences in reasons for decline of eye tissue; the impact of legislation changes (i.e. from 'opt-in' to

'opt-out' (deemed consent) on eye donation in each of the UK nations; and construction, delivery and content of donation consent conversations (e.g. exploring if and how systematic aspects of conversations related to seeking agreement to organ/tissue/eye donation may be related to outcomes (i.e. acceptance or refusal) [47].

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## **Competing interests**

EW and HG are employed by NHS Blood and Transplant.

EW was Chair of the Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017 working party within NHS Blood and Transplant.

TLS was an invited member of the Eye Donation from Solid Organ Donors – EPSOD, 2014-2017 working party within NHS Blood and Transplant.

#### **Author Contributions**

EW and HG facilitated access to primary data and reviewed early drafts of this paper.

TLS developed the idea of a secondary analysis and proposed undertaking this under the auspices of the Service Level Agreement that exists between NHSBT- TS and UoS. TLS provided specialist input into the analysis of free text comments, discussion, recommendations, and edited developing drafts.

MJB sourced secondary data from NHSBT and conducted secondary data analysis (descriptive statistics and qualitative content analysis), with input from BMS and TLS, and was responsible for primary authorship. All co-authors contributed substantially to the development of the paper and resulting recommendations.

#### **Data sharing statement**

No additional unpublished data are available from this study.

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Additional File

Table 1 - Reasons for non-donation cases for eye tissue by category and major sub-category for the period 1st April 2014-3 1 | 1 April 2016 to 31 | 1 April 2016

Category	Sub-category		March 2015		1 April 2015 to Ⅎ1 March 2016 ಮ		1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017		All Years	
,	<b></b>	Ν	% of category	N	% of∕o categeRy	Ν	% of category	N	% of category	
	Decision made on personal views	195	0.43	154	0∰37	129	0.28	478	0.36	
	Decision made on disfigurement concerns	186	0.41	180	0 <b>5</b> 43	222	0.48	588	0.44	
Family wishes	Decision made on current physical/emotional state	13	0.03	12	0 <u>7</u> 03	27	0.06	52	0.04	
railily wishes	Decision made on religious/cultural/spiritual grounds	4	0.01	12	0/203	5	0.01	21	0.02	
	Decision made on lack of knowledge	N/A	N/A	2	0 <u>.0</u> 0 0 <u>9</u> 14	1	0.00	3	0.00	
	Other/not specified family reasons	54	0.12	60		83	0.18	197	0.15	
Deceased wishes	Decision based on deceased prior registered wishes	54	0.79	50	0⊋74	24	0.55	128	0.71	
Deceased wishes	Decision based on deceased inferred wishes	14	0.21	18	0 <u>2</u> 26	20	0.45	52	0.29	
	Homicide / Murder / Manslaughter	7	0.14	8	0 <u>-1</u> 4	10	0.20	25	0.16	
Coroner refused	Sustained injury in custody/prison	3	0.06	1	0\(\frac{1}{2}\)02	2	0.04	6	0.04	
consent	Police refusal	18	0.35	N/A	N√A	1	0.02	19	0.12	
	Suspicious death	23	0.45	24	0.41	16	0.31	63	0.39	
	Other coroner reasons, please specify	51	1.00	24	031	22	0.43	97	0.61	
	High risk behaviour	61	0.25	74	<b>2</b> 9	58	0.17	193	0.23	
	Haemodilution	14	0.06	15	006	24	0.07	53	0.06	
Medical reasons	Neurological conditions of unknown cause	47	0.19	34	<b>₫</b> 3	44	0.13	125	0.15	
Medical reasons	Positive virology	16	0.07	20	0308	10	0.03	46	0.05	
	Above age criteria	N/A	N/A	5	0,02	10	0.03	15	0.02	
	Other medical reasons, please specify	104	0.43	105	<u>&gt;</u> 0 <del>√</del> 42	200	0.58	409	0.49	
All other reasons	Concerns about storage	1	0.02	2	0 34	3	0.03	6	0.03	
	Other reasons, please specify	28	0.53	28	0,56	39	0.36	95	0.45	
	Not specified	24	0.45	20	020	67	0.61	111	0.52	

Table 2.1 Main reason for non-eye donatio 1 April 2014 to 31 March 2015	n (all reasons)	
Reason for non-eye donation	N	(%)
Decision based on deceased prior registered wishes ODR	35	(4.0)
Driving licence	1	(0.1)
Discussion with family	17	(1.9)
Verbal or written statement in life	1	(0.1)
Sub total	54	(6.1)
Decision based on deceased inferred wishes Knew deceased wishes not to donate eyes	11	(1.2)
Knew deceased wishes not to donate eyes	3	(0.3)
Sub total	14	(1.6)
Deceased wishes	68	(7.7)
Decision made on personal views	0.5	(40.0)
Do not want eyes removed (discomfort reasons)  I do not like the idea of eye donation	95 62	(10.8)
UncomforTable with removal of whole eye	16	(7.0) (1.8)
Personal connection/link to deceased eyes	22	(2.5)
Sub total	195	(22.1)
Decision made on disfigurement concerns		
Squeamishness, yuk factor	32	(3.6)
Only organs	79	(9.0)
Face not to be touched Concerns about how the deceased would look	61 12	(6.9)
Nothing above the neck	2	(1.4) (0.2)
Sub total	186	(21.1)
Decision made on current physical/emotional state Family disagreement Family overwhelmed Influencing voice making decisions List shock Wanted something left	4 6 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	(0.5) (0.7) (0.1) (0.1) (0.1)
Sub total  Decision made on religious/cultural/spiritual grounds  Need for eyes to be buried/cremated	13	<b>(1.5)</b> (0.1)
Need eyes to be builded remarked  Need eyes to see in the afterlife  Sub total	3	(0.3) (0.5)
Other/not specified family reasons		(0.0)
Family other reasons, please specify Family, not specified	26 28	(3.0) (3.2)
Sub total	54	(6.1)
Family wishes	452	(51.3)
Reason for non-eye donation	N	(%)
Coroner refused consent		
Homicide / Murder / Manslaughter	7	(0.8)
Police refusal	3	(0.3)
Suspicious death	18	(2.0)
Other coroner reasons, please specify <b>Sub total</b>	23 <b>51</b>	(2.6) <b>(5.7)</b>
Medical reasons		
High risk behaviour	61	(6.8)
Haemodilution	14	(1.6)
Neurological conditions of unknown cause	47	(5.3)

Positive virology	16	(1.8)
Other medical reasons, please specify	104	(11.7)
Sub total	242	(27.1)
All other reasons		
Concerns about storage	1	(0.1)
Other reasons, please specify	28	(3.1)
Not specified	24	(2.7)
Sub total	53	(5.9)
TOTAL	892	(100.0)

Table 2.2	Main reason for non-eye donation 1 April 2015 to 31 March 2016	n (all reasons)	
Reason for non-eye d	onation	N	(%)
Decision based on de	ceased prior registered wishes		
ODR	-	21	(2.1)
Passport		1	(0.1)
Discussion with family Verbal or written state		22	(2.2)
Sub total	anent in me	6 <b>50</b>	(0.6) <b>(5.0)</b>
Decision based on de	ceased inferred wishes		
Knew deceased wishe		15	(1.5)
Perceived wishes with	n disfigurement	3	(0.3)
Sub total		18	(1.8)
Deceased wishes		68	(6.8)
Decision made on per			
Do not want eyes rem	loved (discomfort reasons)	54	(5.4)
I do not like the idea o		69	(6.9)
UncomforTable with representation Personal connection/li		10 21	(1.0) (2.1)
Sub total	ilik to deceased eyes	154	(15.5)
			(1000)
Decision made on dis			(1.5)
Squeamishness, yuk f	factor	40	(4.0)
Only organs Face not to be touche	d	88 38	(8.9) (3.8)
	the deceased would look	13	(1.3)
Nothing above the ned		1	(0.1)
Sub total		180	(18.1)
Decision made on cur	rent physical/emotional state		
Family tired		1	(0.1)
Family disagreement			(0.1)
Family overwhelmed Influencing voice mak	ing decisions	5	(0.5) (0.1)
List shock	ing decisions	1	(0.1)
Wanted something lef	t	3	(0.3)
Sub total		12	(1.2)
Doginian made on rali	iniqua/autural/apiritual argunda		
Need eyes to see in the	igious/cultural/spiritual grounds	12	(1.2)
Sub total	io diterino	12	(1.2)
			` ,
Decision made on lac	•		(0.4)
Family unaware that e Family had questions		1 1	(0.1) (0.1)
Sub total	about the process	2	(0.1) ( <b>0.2)</b>
		_	(0.2)
Other/not specified fa			
Family other reasons,	please specify	26	(2.6)
Family, not specified <b>Sub total</b>		34 <b>60</b>	(3.4) <b>(6.0)</b>
Sub total		00	(0.0)
Family wishes		420	(42.3)
Coroner refused con		o	(0.0)
Homicide / Murder / M Sustained injury in cus		8 1	(0.9) (0.1)
Suspicious death		25	(2.8)
		<del>_</del>	` '

Other coroner reasons, please specify Sub total	24 <b>58</b>	(2.7) <b>(6.6)</b>	
Medical reasons		-	
High risk behaviour	74	(8.4)	
Haemodilution	15	(1.7)	
Neurological conditions of unknown cause	34	(3.9)	
Positive virology Above age criteria	20 5	(2.3) (0.6)	
Other medical reasons, please specify	105	(11.9)	
Sub total	253	(28.7)	
All other reasons			
Concerns about storage	2	(0.2)	
Other reasons, please specify	28	(3.2)	
Not specified Sub total	20 <b>50</b>	(2.3) <b>(5.7)</b>	
Sub total	30	(3.7)	
TOTAL	881	(100.0)	

Table 2.3	Main reason for non-eye donation 1 April 2016 to 31 March 2017	(all reasons)	
Reason for non-eye	donation	N	(%)
	deceased prior registered wishes		
ODR Discussion with fam	ilv	13 6	(1.3) (0.6)
Verbal or written sta		5	(0.5)
Sub total		24	(2.4)
	deceased inferred wishes	40	(4.0)
Rnew deceased wis Perceived wishes w	hes not to donate eyes	18 2	(1.8) (0.2)
Sub total	an dongaromon	20	(2.0)
Deceased wishes		44	(4.3)
Decision made on p	personal views		
	emoved (discomfort reasons)	40	(3.9)
I do not like the idea		41	(4.0)
	h removal of whole eye n/link to deceased eyes	11 37	(1.1) (3.6)
Sub total	Willik to deceased eyes	129	(12.7)
Decision made on o	lisfigurement concerns		
Squeamishness, yu		95	(9.4)
Only organs Face not to be touch		92	(9.1)
	v the deceased would look	23 10	(2.3) (1.0)
Nothing above the r		2	(0.2)
Sub total		222	(21.9)
	eurrent physical/emotional state	3	(0.2)
Family tired Family disagreemer	nt	3 5	(0.3) (0.5)
Family overwhelmed	d	6	(0.6)
Influencing voice ma	aking decisions	1	(0.1)
List shock Wanted something I	left	1 11	(0.1) (1.1)
Sub total		27	(2.7)
	eligious/cultural/spiritual grounds		()
Need eyes to see in Sub total	the afterlife	5 <b>5</b>	(0.5) <b>(0.5)</b>
			(0.0)
Decision made on la	ack of knowledge as about the process	1	(0.1)
Sub total	is about the process	1	( <b>0.</b> 1)
Other/not specified	family reasons		
Family other reason		35	(3.4)
Family, not specified <b>Sub total</b>		48 <b>83</b>	(4.7) <b>(8.2)</b>
Family wishes		467	(46.0)
- I			•
Coroner refused c			(4.0)
Homicide / Murder / Sustained injury in d		10 2	(1.0) (0.2)
Police refusal	λασισαγ/ριτσοιτ	1	(0.2)
Suspicious death		16	(1.6)
Other coroner reasons Sub total	ons, please specify	22 <b>51</b>	(2.2) <b>(5.1)</b>
Cub total		J1	(0.1)

58 24 44 10 10 200 <b>346</b>	(5.8) (2.4) (4.4) (1.0) (1.0) (20.1) (34.8)	
3 39 67 <b>109</b>	(0.3) (3.9) (6.7) <b>(11.0)</b>	
1017	(100.0)	
	24 44 10 10 200 <b>346</b> 3 3 39 67 <b>109</b> <b>1017</b>	24 (2.4) 44 (4.4) 10 (1.0) 10 (1.0) 200 (20.1) 346 (34.8)  3 (0.3) 39 (3.9) 67 (6.7) 109 (11.0)  1017 (100.0)