



CREATE

Canterbury Research and Theses Environment

Canterbury Christ Church University's repository of research outputs

<http://create.canterbury.ac.uk>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given e.g. Stevens, Daniel (2018) What roles and functions have been identified by empirical research for material objects later in life? D.Clin.Psychol. thesis, Canterbury Christ Church University.

Contact: create.library@canterbury.ac.uk



AGEING AND MATERIAL OBJECTS

DANIEL STEVENS BSc Hons

Section A:

What roles and functions have been identified by empirical research for material objects later in life?

Word Count: 7914

Section B:

Maintaining the self: Meanings of material objects after a residential transition later in life

Word Count: 7618

Overall Word Count: 15532

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Canterbury Christ Church University for the degree of
Doctor of Clinical Psychology

February 2019

SALOMONS
CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH UNIVERSITY

Acknowledgements

Thank you to all the participants who took part in this research. It was a privilege to be invited into your homes to see your most cherished possessions.

Thank you to my supervisors Prof. Paul Camic and Dr. Rob Solway. Rob, I really appreciated all your support and the encouragement you gave me before I headed off to my first research interview. Paul, thank you for the reassurance, advice, and the many enjoyable chats about objects.

And most of all, to my pal. For being by my side, not just figuratively, but also all the times you literally sat beside me and patiently listened to my rambling thoughts.

Summary of the MRP portfolio

Section A:

A narrative literature review using a systematic search methodology of research into the role of material objects later in life. A total of 14 empirical studies were identified and reviewed, including qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches. The findings of these studies are synthesized into six key areas where objects have a role later in life; memory, emotional responses, connecting with others, identity, storytelling, and residential transition. These areas are discussed and critiqued with reference to their supporting studies. Clinical implications include, considering the use of objects in therapeutic practices. Research recommendations include, longitudinal research, and enquires into the roles of objects in relation to late-life residential transitions.

Section B:

Grounded theory method was used to build an explanatory theory for the meanings of material objects for older adults in the context of a residential transition. Two core categories emerged from this grounded theory study; threats to identity and objects and identity continuity. The model proposes moving house later in life can threaten a person's sense of self. However, objects can help people maintain a sense of identity continuity through reminiscence and life review processes. Clinical recommendations include supporting people to move with meaningful objects to facilitate identity maintenance processes, and exploring the topic of objects and identity with older adults while working therapeutically.

Contents

Abstract	8
Aim.....	11
Methodology	11
Eligibility criteria	11
Literature search	13
Table 1. <i>Search terms used in the review</i>	13
Figure 1. Prisma flowchart of search process.....	13
Quality assessment.....	13

Synthesis.....	14
Table 2. <i>Papers included in the review</i>	15
Results	18
Memory	18
Emotional responses	19
Connecting with others	20
Storytelling.....	22
Identity	23
Objects and residential transition	25
Discussion	27
Strengths and limitations	30
Future research	31
Clinical implications.....	32
Conclusion	32
References.....	34
Abstract	41
Introduction.....	42
Method	44
Participants.....	44
Participant characteristics	45
Design	46
Procedure	46
Ethical considerations.....	47
Data analysis.....	47
Results	49
Moving and identity discontinuity.....	51
Place and identity	51
Loss of objects, loss of self	51
Connections across time	52
Memories of childhood	52
Places of the past.....	53
Holidays and special occasions.....	54
Attachment to others	54
Family and friends	54
Lost loved ones.....	55
Preserving self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation	55
Inherited objects.....	55

Objects and the future	56
Discussion	57
Links with extant literature	58
Connections across time.....	60
Attachment to others	60
Preserving self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation	61
Clinical implications	62
Limitations and research recommendations.....	63
Further considerations of the range of factors related to the sample.....	64
Conclusion	65
References	66
Appendices	74
Appendix A - Qualitative research review guidelines.....	74
Appendix B - Excerpt of qualitative quality assessment.....	76
Appendix C - Excerpt of quality assessment for quantitative papers.....	79
Appendix D – Recruitment website.....	82
Appendix E – Recruitment poster.....	83
Appendix F - Interview schedule	83
Appendix G – Ethical approval from the Salomons ethics committee.....	85
Appendix H – information sheet	85
Appendix J – Coding transcript.....	88
Appendix K – example of coding and memos in Microsoft excel.....	94
Appendix L - Excerpts from research diary.....	95
Appendix M - Audit trail: categories, codes, and example quotes for early iteration of the analysis	98
Appendix N. Audit trail: Early iteration of model	111
Appendix O - Experimenting with relationships between categories	113
Appendix P - Precursor to final model.....	114
Appendix Q - Feedback Report to Ethics Panel	116
Appendix R - feedback summary for ethics panel and R&D committee	116
Appendix S - End of study report for participants.....	117
Appendix T - Sample of valued objects identified by participants	118
Appendix U – Author guideline for journal	119

List of tables and figures

Section A:

Table 1. Search terms used in the review.....19

Table 2. Papers included in the review.....19

Section B:

Table 1. Participant demographics.....51

Table 2. Categories and subcategories.....55

Figure 1. Meanings of material objects for older adults in the context of a residential transition.....55

DANIEL STEVENS BSc Hons

What roles and functions have been identified by empirical research for material objects later in life?

Section A:

Word Count: 7914

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Canterbury Christ Church University for the degree of
Doctor of Clinical Psychology

APRIL 2018

SALOMONS
CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH UNIVERSITY

Abstract

Material objects refers to the physical items we make use of in everyday life. There is evidence material objects may have particular roles or functions for adults later in life, which could be beneficial for some of the clinical challenges of an ageing population. However, to date this has not been previously reviewed. The aim of this review was to critically evaluate empirical studies which have investigated the role of material objects in later life. A narrative literature review using a systematic search of ASSIA, CINAHL, Cochrane library, Psychinfo, and Pubmed databases identified 14 studies, including qualitative, quantitative, and mixed method approaches. The findings were synthesized into six key areas where objects have a role later in life: memory, emotional responses, connecting with others, identity, storytelling, and residential transition. These areas are discussed and critiqued with reference to their supporting studies. Clinical implications include, considering the use of objects in therapeutic practices. Research recommendations include, longitudinal research, and enquires into the roles of objects in relation to late-life residential transitions.

Key words: material objects, ageing, possessions, later life

Introduction

“Material objects¹” refers to the physical items we make use of in everyday life. Humans are thought to be mostly unique in our acquisition and use of objects (Martin & Jones, 2009). Objects are not only used for survival or utilitarian purposes, objects can also embody goals, help develop skills, and shape identity (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981). However, surprisingly little attention has been paid to the area of person-object relations in clinical psychology (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Camic, 2010; Solway et al., 2015).

The progenitor of existential psychotherapy, Victor Frankl (1955), asserted a search for meaning can be a primary motivational force for human beings. It was during his internment in a concentration camp, that Frankl observed the profound existential meaning of having possessions taken away. He noted, the loss of belongings severed all visible external links detainees had with their former lives. Goffman (1961), similarly highlighted the psychological impact of losing material objects on patients who had been admitted to asylums. He suggested the practice of taking away patients’ personal possessions on admission to asylums could be likened to a form of “personal defacement”. Goffman linked the loss of items like personal clothing and grooming supplies to identity processes, suggesting such items typically serve as an “identity kit”. In the field of consumer psychology, Belk (1988) makes the case for material objects playing an important role in the development and maintenance of identity. Belk proposed our sense of self can extend into objects. For example, objects can be used for self-expression purposes, or act as reminders of who a person is, and where they have come from. Belk’s ideas were informed by psychoanalytic theories of infant development and attachment, with particular reference to the works of Winnicott (1971) and Bowlby (1969). Winnicott (1971) coined the term “transitional object” to describe the items which an infant attributes symbolic value. These special objects, such as a soft toy or blanket, are said to represent the infant’s mother, and provide a sense of

¹ To be referred to interchangeably as ‘objects’ or material objects.

comfort and security in her absence. In addition, through exploration and play with transitional objects the infant is introduced to “not me” experiences which help them distinguish between their inner world and external reality. Bowlby (1969) suggested that such objects aid identity formation as the child begins to recognise their independence and separateness from their mother.

The functions objects fulfil are not constant across the lifespan. During adolescence, teenagers are thought to increasingly seek identity through acquiring and accumulating selected consumption objects (Belk, 1988). In adulthood, young couples’ favourite objects have been found to reflect future plans and goals (Olson 1985), whereas preretirement aged adults have cited status or social power as some of the reasons for owning possessions (Furby, 1978). Later in life, objects have been noted to take on special roles related to some of the challenges associated with ageing. Erikson’s (1950) theory of psychosocial development, outlines a series of psychological conflicts humans strive to resolve across their lifetime. In this theory, he proposed older adults are challenged to reflect on the life they have lived with a sense of contentment and integrity, as well as come to terms with mortality. While Erikson did not directly explore the role of objects during this developmental stage, he and colleagues did note familiar possessions appeared to provide a sense of support, solace and pleasure for older adults (Erikson, Erikson & Kivnik, 1986). Existential philosopher, Simone de Beauvoir, claimed ownership of possessions can provide a sense of “ontological security” later in life (de Beauvoir, 1973). Tobin (1996) referred to this in terms of “self-continuity”. He described some cherished possessions represent the legacy of a person. Such items provide comfort in old age, as they offer assurance of their self-continuity into the future. Casey’s (1987) work on remembering highlights how objects can serve as aide-memoires later in life. He described objects which have survived from an earlier period of one’s life can act as inducers of reminiscence. Older adult services have long considered reminiscence to offer therapeutic benefits (Lin, Dwai, Hwang, 2003; Weiner, Brok, & Snadowsky, 1987) and the use of objects is thought to be especially helpful for patients with a diagnosis of dementia (Klever, 2013)

Growing older is associated with an increased vulnerability to a number of physiological and psychological stressors. Reduced mobility, chronic pain, and frailty are just some of the reasons why older adults are more likely to need a form of long-term care (WHO, 2017). Older adults are also more likely to experience challenging life events such as bereavement or a change in socioeconomic status due to retirement (Stroebe, Schut & Stroebe, 2007). These stressors can lead to a greater risk of isolation, loneliness and psychological distress (Killeen, 1998; WHO, 2017). With the number of older people set to dramatically rise over the coming decades (Age UK, 2010); the demand on services to help support people age healthy will also increase.

Aim

There is some evidence that material objects may have specific roles or functions for people later in life. However, to date this has not been previously reviewed. The aim of this review was to critically evaluate empirical studies which have investigated the roles and functions of material objects with older populations in community, home and residential care. This review also aimed to identify and synthesise common elements across the literature and highlight the relevance of material objects to the clinical challenges of ageing as well as areas for future research.

Methodology

Eligibility criteria

There is no general agreement on the age at which a person becomes old (WHO, 2002). Ageing is a biological process, but it is also subject to the constructions by which society makes sense of old age (Ebrahip, 2000). The NHS and WHO refer to 60 years onwards as a time when it is more likely people will require mental and physical support for issues directly related to ageing (NHS, 2015; 2017, WHO, 2015; 2017). Another way in which old age is constructed is based on retirement from working life. Disengagement from work can represent a significant life change for many people (Pettican & Prior, 2011). For example, retirement has been associated with psychological challenges such as; identity

disruption, a search for meaning, anxiety about death, and self-actualization (Osbourne, 2012). Furthermore, retirement has been associated with increased physical health difficulties and a decline in mental health (Dave, Rashad, & Spasojevic, 2007). For the purpose of this review, later life was defined as people over the age of 60 (in-line with criteria used by WHO and the NHS) or retired people living in nursing homes, care homes, and retirement communities. Age of sample is reported for each paper in table 2. No time parameters were placed on this search due to the paucity of literature in this area.

Studies involving a later life population and material objects were included in this review. This also included empirical research related to museum objects with this population across residential care, hospital and community settings. This is an emerging field in older adult research which investigates the social and psychological benefits of engaging with museum objects. As such, these studies were included as they provide additional insight into the ways in which material objects are made use of later in life.

Papers were excluded if they were not written in English language. The search terms used are described in table 1.

Literature search

Databases searched: ASSIA, CINAHL, Cochrane library, Psycinfo, and Pubmed (Figure 1). Google scholar was also used, and the references of selected papers were hand searched. A total of 14 papers were selected for inclusion in the review (Table 2).

Table 1. Search terms used in the review

Search terms - all combined with AND

object OR objects

material OR physical OR handling OR museum OR valued OR cherished

Ageing OR “old age” OR “later life” OR “older adults” OR geriatric OR gerontology OR retirement

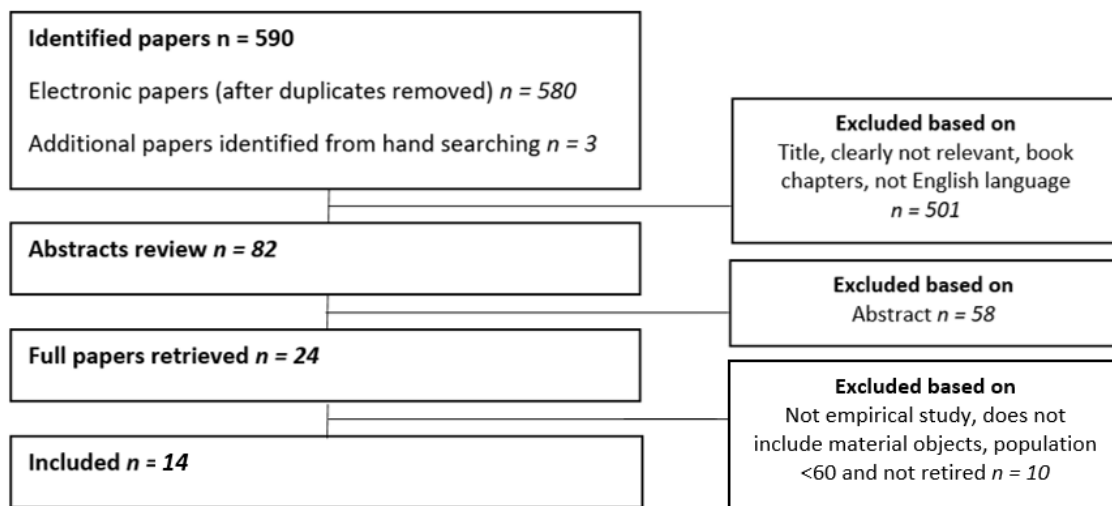


Figure 1. Prisma flowchart of search process (Moher, Liberati, Tetzlaff, & Altman, 2009).

Quality assessment

The quantitative studies in this review were appraised with reference to the quality assessment tool for quantitative studies (Thomas et al., 2004). This tool provides a guide to reviewing the quality of a paper across six key domains. Papers are then given an overall global score of either weak, moderate, or strong. The qualitative studies were reviewed using RATs (Relevance, Appropriateness, Transparency,

Soundness) checklist for critiquing research (Clark, 2003). The checklist contains quality assessment questions such as, 'Is the type of analysis appropriate for the type of study?' which can be scored to provide an overall rating out of 23 (Appendix A). A higher score indicates greater adherence to the quality framework. Appendix B and C provides details of how each paper was scored.

Synthesis

The search yielded a range of studies. Most of the studies in this review were qualitative, however three quantitative studies and one mixed methods study also feature. Booth, Papaioannou, and Sutton (2014) recommend a narrative approach when synthesising studies with differences between questions, research designs, and contexts. Mays and Pope (2000) also state a narrative approach is appropriate when working with a mixture of qualitative and quantitative studies. As such, a narrative approach was employed when synthesising the literature in this review.

Popay et al. (2006) outline a four steps method for narrative synthesis:

1. Developing a theory: generate a theory or test existing theory
2. Develop a preliminary synthesis
3. Explore relationships in the data
4. Assess robustness of the synthesised output

The aim of this review was to explore the role of objects for older adults and is grounded in existing theory as outlined in the introduction. Following the approach set out by Booth et al. (2014), relationships in the data were explored by grouping together elements across the papers and comparing similarities between the papers whilst also searching for inconsistencies. Finally, the robustness is evaluated, both in terms of the quality appraisal of each of the studies, as well as through the concluding discussion.

Table 2. *Papers included in the review*

	Study and location	Aims	Method and analysis	Main findings	Rating
1	Ekerdt & Baker, 2014. (USA, own home)	Assess the extent to which older adults give up their material objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross-sectional survey (n = 1814) • Age 60+ • Logistic regression 	As people age, they are less likely to give up their possessions. However, this is moderated by good health and having recently moved home.	Weak
2	van Hoof et al., 2016. (Netherlands, nursing home)	(1) Investigate the importance of personal belongings brought to a nursing home. (2) Assess whether these objects contribute to a sense of home.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interviews (n = 27) • Age 55-97 • Grounded theory 	Majority of participants stated objects contribute to a sense of home. However, autonomy and relationships were said to be more important for some participants.	20
3	Kroger & Adair, 2008. (New Zealand, assisted living community)	Explore the meanings and functions of cherished objects in relation to identity processes for older adults.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interviews (n = 20) • Age 65-89 • Grounded theory 	Cherished objects have a number of personal meanings related to identity. These objects provide a concrete, physical reminder of a person's identity which may serve as a personal 'anchor' during times of change.	14
4	McCracken, 1987. (Canada, own home)	Explore how older adults make use of objects in relation to (1) memory (2) transitions in self and status (3) cross-generational influence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews (n = 40) • Older (65 – 75) and younger (25 - 35) participants • Ethnography 	Examples are provided of how older adults use objects as mnemonic devices (e.g. photos provide link to memories), manage transitions in self/status (e.g. re-defining self 'retired' through retirement hobby), and to influence younger generations (e.g. giving objects as gifts)	6
5	Nord, 2013. (Sweden, assisted living community)	Investigate what objects older adults keep when moving into assisted living	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured Interviews (n = 11) • Age 60 – 99 • Constructivist grounded theory 	Older adults organised their rooms in ways which allows them to spend most of their time there. Rooms included cherished objects which serve as representations of identity and reminders of the past, as well as everyday objects valued for their utility. The author proposes this is an adaptive behaviour which grounds participants in the present, and allows them to actively engage with their closest surroundings at a time when their physical and social world is reducing.	19
6	Phenice & Griffore, 2013. (USA, residential facility)	Examine the role, functions, and memories of objects in the living environments of older adults in a residential facility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interview (n = 11) • Age 80 – 98 • Grounded theory 	Objects and the memories associated with them relate to identity and life review processes. Displaying objects, telling stories, and reflecting on memories may help older adults maintain a sense of identity. Objects and memories of events can be used as a means of communicating to others a narrative account of the life the person has lived.	14
7	Ranada & Hagberg, 2014. (Sweden, own home)	Investigate how older adults (1) relate to objects in their own home (2)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interview (n = 13) 	Participants desire to reduce the number of objects they own to make life easier, increase their sense of control,	22

		make decisions to keep or give up objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age 72 – 92 • Directed content analysis 	and to prepare for the ultimate dissolution of their objects. However, this is a complex process. Participants' children are central in the process of disbandment and the authors describe an 'advanced dance' takes place between the generations.	
8	Rubinstein, 1987. (USA, own home)	Examine the possible significance of objects to later life identity processes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interview (n = 88) • Age 65 – 92 • Data coded into themes (specific method of analysis not stated) 	Objects express meanings about self and relationships with others (both past and present). Objects also act as aide-memoires, and help incorporate aspects of the past into the older adult's present-day identity. Objects may also serve a self-preservation function during a time when the person may be experiencing a physical decline.	12
9	Shenk et al., 2004. (USA, own home)	Explore older women's attachments to their home and possessions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interviews (n = 4) • Age 64 – 80 • Data coded into themes using an ideographic approach (specific method of analysis not stated) 	Participants' identity is tied to home and possessions. Connections to family are reflected through the meanings associated with home and possessions. Objects might be able to recreate the sense of home in a new place.	16
10	Sherman & Newman, 1978. (USA, nursing home & own home)	Explore (1) if there is an association between cherished objects and life satisfaction (2) and the meaning of cherished objects for older adults	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mixed methods (n = 94) • Age 60 - 95 <p>Quantitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey of cherished personal possessions and measure of life satisfaction • Chi square <p>Qualitative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured interview • Meanings were coded in terms of object type (e.g. 	81 percent of participants identified a cherished object. Oldest participants (75+) were less likely to identify a cherished object. Lack of a cherished object was associated with lower life satisfaction. Type of object tended to be associated with particular referents (e.g. jewellery was often associated with a spouse). The authors suggest a lack of cherished possessions might serve as an indicator of poor adjustment to old age.	Weak*

			jewellery) and person the object was associated with (including one's self)		
11	Smiraglia, 2014. (USA, museum objects)	Investigate the impact of an object-based museum program for retirement communities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Semi-structured group interviews (n = not specified) • Mean age 83** • Thematic analysis 	Five salient features were identified: sensory exploration, cognitive response, emotional response, socialisation, and memory-sharing. Conclusions: object-based interventions could have cognitive and emotional benefits which elicit positive psychosocial outcomes.	16
12	Solway et al., 2015. (UK, museum objects)	Explore the psychological and social aspects of museum object handling for older adults with a mental health diagnosis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Observation of groups (n = 42) • Age not reported, but participants recruited from older adult inpatient ward • Thematic analysis 	The researchers observed beneficial and therapeutic processes for participants in a facilitated museum object handling group. These included; enjoyment, learning, socialising, interest in the objects, and active participation in the group. Handling objects also elicited memories for some participants and generated reflections on identity.	19
13	Thomson & Chatterjee, 2014. (UK, museum objects)	Investigate the effect of a museum object handling intervention on well-being for older adults across differing health care settings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-report well-being measures (n = 40) • Age 65 – 85 • MANOVA and t test 	The intervention increased positive emotion and wellness for participants from acute and residential settings, but not from psychiatric settings. The intervention also increased happiness and decreased negative emotions for participants from all settings.	Moderate
14	Wapner et al., 1990. (USA, nursing home)	Look at the relationship between cherished possessions and adaptation to living in a nursing home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Battery of measures related to wellbeing and adaptation to environment (n = 100) • Mean age 82 (range not given) • Correlation, chi-square, t test, and MANOVA 	Cherished objects may serve a useful role in facilitating adaptation to a new environment. Cherished objects functioned to provide historical continuity, comfort, and a sense of belonging. Objects may also offer opportunity to express a sense of control over the environment.	Weak

*The quality of this paper was assessed using both the qualitative and quantitative quality frameworks

**One of the participants in this study was aged 42. The authors do not comment on the inclusion of this relatively younger adult but this paper has been kept in this review due to the overall mean age of participants being 83 and because all participants were recruited from a retirement community.

Results

To date, material object studies with older adults fall into three broad areas: objects in residential care, in the home, and in the community setting of museums (Table 2 lists area of each study). All three areas explore the roles and functions of material objects in later life populations. However, while the first two areas focus on participants personally owned objects, the museum object studies investigate the therapeutic benefits of engaging with novel objects. These distinctions are explored below and in the conclusion. The literature review identified a number of roles and functions for material objects later in life. These have been grouped into six main themes: memory, emotional responses, connecting with others, identity, storytelling, and residential transition.

Memory

Many of the papers described a relationship between objects and memory processes. In a survey carried out by Wapner, Demick and Redondo (1990), older adults living in nursing homes most commonly reported cherished objects as meaningful due to memories associated with them. However, participants were restricted to selecting meanings which were pre-determined by the authors, which introduced potential bias. In his ethnographic study of people living in their own homes, McCracken (1987) also noted participants would describe memories when asked about personal possessions. He proposed objects can become repositories of personal and family memories which serve as memory aids later in life. In a similar vein, Rubinstein (1987) suggested objects can be useful in provoking and magnifying memories for older adults living at home. However, little information was given about the method and analysis for both studies, and as such making them not as informative as they might have been.

Nord (2013) and van Hoof et al., (2016) mention a relationship between objects and memories in their investigations into the possessions people keep when moving into assisted living environments. Nord (2013) found many of the belongings older adults brought to their new apartments served as

memorabilia with happy and sad implications. van Hoof et al. (2016) reported participants ranked photographs and paintings as the second most important objects brought into a nursing home. The authors noted these items often contained content associated with good memories. Both of these papers were of a high quality, meeting most of the criteria on the RATs quality framework (Clark, 2003).

Two of the museum object studies in this review reported handling novel objects from museum collections can elicit memories and facilitate spontaneous memory sharing in groups (Smiraglia, 2014; Solway et al., 2015). Smiraglia (2014) noted participants often shared memories inspired by the objects they were handling. One participant was quoted saying, “the program can help stir up memories”. There is evidence that material objects can facilitate memory processes across multiple contexts. Personal objects prompted reminiscence for people living at home and in residential care settings and objects were often described as valuable for these reasons. Interestingly, museum object studies have found handling novel objects can also prompt reminiscence processes for older adults. This demonstrates that a personal history with an object may not be needed in order to elicit memories.

Emotional responses

Eight of the papers in this review commented on the emotional responses objects can provoke in older adult populations. Across these studies, objects were noted to elicit feelings of comfort, enjoyment, pleasure, happiness and sadness (Rubinstein, 1987; Wapner et al., 1990; Kroger & Adair; 2008; Nord 2013; Phenice & Griffore, 2013; Smiraglia, 2014; Solway et al., 2015; and van Hoof et al., 2016). Two papers highlighted a relationship between objects and measures of life satisfaction and wellbeing. Sherman and Newman (1978) reported lower life satisfaction scores were associated with a lack of cherished possessions. The authors suggested that not having cherished objects later in life could serve as an indicator of poor adjustment to old age. However, the authors are at risk of making a type 1 error in their conclusions, as due to the correlational design of their study it is not possible to infer

whether having fewer objects causes life satisfaction to be worse. More recently, Thomson and Chatterjee (2014) looked at the relationship between objects and wellbeing. In their study, older adults across three care settings (acute, psychiatric, and residential care settings) were invited to take part in a museum object handling intervention. In terms of quality, this paper was of a higher standard in comparison to the other quantitative studies in this review. This was the only study to control for between subject variability by using a repeated measures design. In addition, this was also the only study to use valid and reliable data collection tools. Participants completed a self-report scale for positive and negative affect (PANAS) and a scale for wellness and happiness (VAS) before and after the intervention. Handling museum objects was found to increase positive affect, wellness, and happiness for older adults from two of the settings (acute and residential care settings). Limitations include, some variation in how the intervention was delivered, with a mix of one-to-one and group sessions. The inclusion of a control group would have further strengthened the results of this paper. However, Solway et al., (2015) describe that the positive emotions elicited by museum objects are related to the unique properties of these items. In their study, participants reported part of the enjoyment of handling objects was related to the novelty of being able to physically touch items which they typically wouldn't have access to. This suggests there could be an important distinction between emotional responses to personally owned objects, and emotions elicited by handling objects from a museum.

Connecting with others

Four of the studies identified a role for material objects in connecting older adults to others. Sherman and Newman (1978) surveyed 94 older adults about the meanings of cherished objects. They found participants often referred to other people when talking about their objects. For example, an item may have been described as meaningful because it was a gift from their child or spouse. After interviewing participants about cherished objects, the authors describe the most meaningful way of classifying responses was to develop a list of persons which the objects related to. However, it is unclear

how they arrived at this decision, and it appears no formal analysis was used. There were a number quality issues within this paper and the authors suggest findings should be viewed as suggestive rather than conclusive. Kroger and Adair (2008) reported that a common symbolic link made by participants when describing valued possessions was to cherished relationships. They suggest possessions could reflect connections to both living and deceased significant others. For some, the valued objects provided them with a sense of comfort and connection. Shenk, Kuwahara, and Zablotsky (2004) also noted a theme of connection when interviewing older adults in their own homes about attachment to material possessions. The authors suggested the cultural practice of hanging family photos on walls represented a means of feeling connected with family later in life. They described such possessions as “symbols of others”. While these studies provide some evidence of objects having an important connecting role later in life, the results were either limited to a small older adult sample living in assisted living accommodation (Kroger & Adair, 2008) or a very small sample of widowed women who had lived in place for a long time (Shenk et al., 2004). It is also worth noting the theme of connection reported by object studies in this review appears to be interconnected with memory processes and emotional responses. For example, some participants reported objects which provide a sense of connection can also serve as reminders of memories shared with family members which in turn elicits feelings of comfort and wellbeing.

Another way in which objects were reported to provide feelings of connection for adults later in life was reported by Nord (2013). In Nord’s (2013) study, the use of mundane objects was proposed to play a role in keeping older adults practically connected. Objects such as televisions and telephones were named as most important for participants living in assisted living accommodation, as they provide a link to the outside world.

Storytelling

Three of the studies described objects providing a narrative function for older adults. Phenice and Griffore (2013) interviewed older adults living in a residential facility. Participants were asked about personal objects they valued, meanings ascribed to these items, and how they felt when they remembered them. The authors' concluded objects can act as 'props' that help older adults present to others a narrative account of their life. However, some limitations with the design and results need to be highlighted. Phenice and Griffore describe using a grounded theory approach to identify themes in the data, but these are not presented in the results. Instead, the results are organised by the questions residents were asked. Perhaps because of this, the conclusions do not always appear to be clearly evidenced. Nord's (2013) study presents a similar account of objects having a narrative function, and provides clear examples in the results. Participants' living in assisted living accommodation were described as having collections of objects in their rooms with embedded private narratives signifying important events or people. For example, one participant was described as having an 'exhibit' of his whole life in a glass cabinet. The cabinet contained objects and photos relating to events across their lifespan.

In a museum object study within a hospital setting, Solway et al., (2015) observed older adults would share anecdotes and personal stories when handling objects. Older adults with a diagnosis of depression or anxiety were invited to take part in a facilitated group which involved handling and discussing museum objects. Group sessions were audio recorded then analysed thematically. The authors' identified five main themes; one of which was 'imagination and storytelling'. They observed participants would share imaginative fantasies or speculations about objects which other group members would join in with. This process appeared to be distinct from telling stories about memories and personal histories. For example, one member might make up an imagined backstory for a museum object which other group members would further embellish. Solway et al. (2015) propose this dynamic

of telling stories about objects within a group setting could have social benefits and reduce isolation. This was a well-executed study involving a clinical population. However, while the authors' described the population consisted of older adults, the age of participants was not provided. Given that there is no general agreement on what constitutes 'old age' (WHO, 2002) it would have been useful to have a more detailed description of participants. The findings from these studies suggest objects can be used to convey stories about a person's history and the life they have lived. Results from one of the museum object studies suggested objects can be used to tell stories in a different way. Objects prompted imaginative storytelling behaviours in groups.

Identity

Six of the papers identified objects as having a role related to identity processes (McCracken, 1987; Rubinstein, 1987; Shenk et al., 2004; Kroger & Adair, 2008; Phenice & Griffore, 2013; Solway et al., 2015). In his 1987 study, Rubinstein highlighted a link between personal objects and identity processes; 88 older adults living in their own homes were interviewed about the significance of personal objects. Participants described objects as having important meanings related to aspects of their selfhood. For some participants, objects served to represent aspects of their identity. For example, plaques and trophies signifying accomplishments achieved, or items such as furniture or ornaments expressing individuals' personal tastes. Rubinstein also noted some objects provoked participants to reflect on how they had changed over time. Photographs were commonly associated with these reflections, however for one participant it was her "old lady doll". When describing the doll, she talked about how it was important because it represented how she looks now. Rubinstein argued such objects may play a role in adapting to changes in identity as people age. While this qualitative study recruited a relatively large number of participants, a lack of clarity in the methodology makes it difficult to assess the validity of the results. Rubinstein also does not describe how interview data was recorded or analysed, making the

analytic process unclear. However, the quotes used to evidence the links between objects and identity processes lend support to his arguments.

Using an ethnographic approach, McCracken (1987) also reported a role for objects in later-life identity processes. He interviewed both older (65 - 75) and younger (25 - 35) adults about person-object relations in their own homes. The study found older participants used material objects to negotiate transitions in status and self-definition. For example, one participant managed the transition from employment to retirement by taking on material projects in the home. The participant produced ornamental and utilitarian objects as a means of continuing their role of “provider” in the family. This finding corresponds with Rubinstein’s (1987) suggestion that objects can have a role in adapting to changes in identity. McCracken (1987) provides an insightful narrative account of person-object relations across two age groups. The quality of this study has some short-falls however. The quality of this paper would have been higher had more information about the role of the researcher as an interviewer, and more detail about how the results were interpreted (Atkinson, 2001), been provided.

More recently, Kroger and Adair (2008) investigated the meanings and functions of cherished objects for identity maintenance and revision processes for older adults. Kroger (2002) defines these processes as the mechanisms that individuals use to maintain or revise a sense of who they are within their immediate and broader social networks and contexts. Kroger and Adair (2008) proposed objects can support identity maintenance by providing concrete, physical reminders of who a person was and who they are now. Furthermore, their study identified objects may have a role in helping older adults maintain a consistent sense of identity during times of change. They suggest cherished objects act as symbolic anchors to identity. Phenice and Griffore (2013) also interviewed older adults who had moved to a residential accommodation. They argued such a move can threaten an individuals’ sense of self. Eleven residents were interviewed about the meanings of personally important objects. The study

concluded objects may help residents maintain an internal working model of self, much in the same way Kroger and Adair (2008) described, by preventing the self from being “separated from its moorings”.

The aforementioned studies discussed the role of personally valued objects and their relationship to identity processes. However, one study reported older adults reflected on identity transitions when handling objects they had no prior relationship with. Solway et al., (2015) noted participants expressed reflections on identity when handling museum objects in a group setting. In this study, conversations about the age of the objects, prompted some participants to personally reflect on ageing and having lived through historical change.

Objects and residential transition

Ekerdt and Baker (2014) investigated object divestment behaviours later in life. Their study carried out a large household survey on cohorts of older adults in America (the cohorts aged from 60+ were included in this review). The survey asked how often participants gave up objects and found that as people get older they are less likely to give up their material possessions. The reasons for this could not be determined due to the design of the study, however the authors suggest giving up objects might be more likely to happen in bursts at times of transition such as moving house. As a result, the number of material objects people own may decrease over time, which in turn makes it less likely and perhaps more difficult to divest their remaining objects as they get older.

Some studies in the review explored the roles and functions of objects for people following a move into residential care (Wapner et al., 1990; Nord, 2013; Ranada & Hagberg, 2014; van Hoof et al., 2016). Wapner et al., (1990) reported cherished possessions can serve a number of functions which help a person adapt to a nursing home environment. In their study, nursing home residents were asked to complete a battery of outcome measures related to adaptation to environment. The study compared residents who reported having no cherished objects with them, to those who owned at least one cherished object. The authors reported those with cherished objects were better adapted to the nursing home environment. However, this was only statistically significant for one of the five adaption

measures. This study was also carried out almost three decades ago, and practices around bringing material possessions to nursing homes have likely changed since then, with it more likely being common practice to bring cherished objects into a nursing home now.

More recently, Nord (2012) reported 'mundane' objects can help people adapt following a move to an assisted living facility. This was a robust study which met most of the quality guidelines. Nord categorised objects into three categories: memorabilia, representations, and mundane things. Memorabilia and representations were objects valued for personal reasons that could be related to the identity of the resident. Nord (2012) found residents named mundane objects as most important to them. The study concluded, mundane objects such as a "comfortable armchair where they could watch TV" helped people to adapt to their new environment by enabling the person to live an active life within the relative confines of their new home.

van Hoof et al., (2016) also reported the television is often considered the most important object by people who had moved into nursing home accommodation. In their study, nursing home residents were asked about the importance of personal objects for the development of a 'sense of home' for nursing home residents. van Hoof et al., (2016) describes this as a layered emotion which involves feelings of security, comfort and familiarity within an environment. A strength of this study was its diverse sample. Participants were recruited from five locations in the Netherlands, and there was some diversity in education and marital status. The study found most participants stated personal objects brought from a former home provided a sense of familiarity and personhood which contributed to feeling at home. However, the study unexpectedly found many participants reported they missed owning their own television set. The authors report this was not due to an emotional attachment or because it provides a sense of home, but instead the TV helps people "get through the day" and stay up to date with developments in the world. Another important finding from this study was participants reported having little say over which belongings were brought to the nursing home. This was said to be

due to participants being ill or in hospital at the time of the move, or due to the regulations of the care home they lived in. Overall, this was a reliable study with many strengths. The data analysis process was particularly noteworthy; five researchers worked as a team to generate and cross-reference codes following a grounded theory approach.

None of the papers investigated the importance of objects for people who had moved later in life, but still lived independently in the community. However, a study carried out by Shenk et al., (2014) investigated attachment to objects for older adults who were widowed and still living in the home they had shared with their deceased spouse. Participants reported material objects provide comfort and reminders of loved ones, which overall contribute to feeling at 'home'. Some participants in this study considered moving in the future and described plans to take personal possessions with them so that they could recreate their 'home' in the new place. The detailed interviews in this paper provide a rich narrative account of attachment to home and possessions. However, the small, homogenous sample limits generalisability of the results.

These studies provide evidence for material objects being particularly important to people following a transition to a nursing home and to those considering a move in the future. For some people, personally valued objects such as photos of loved ones contributed to feeling 'at home'. However, some studies found everyday objects such as the tv and comfortable furniture were the most important objects following a move into residential care.

Discussion

The aim of this review was to evaluate empirical studies that have investigated the role of material objects in later life. The fifteen papers in this review identified a broad range of areas in which objects have roles. The theme of memory came up in many of the studies. Objects were said to provoke and magnify memories, and serve as memory aides later in life. This is in keeping with Casey's (1987) work on remembering, and supports the rationale for object reminiscence interventions offered by clinical

services (Lin, Dwai, Hwang, 2003; Klever, 2013; Weiner, Brok, & Snadowsky, 1987). However, none of the studies in the review explicitly included participants with memory conditions, and most excluded participants with cognitive impairments.

Emotional responses to objects was also a reoccurring theme within the literature with just over half of the papers talked about the emotional responses objects can elicit. Owning cherished objects were associated with improved life satisfaction for nursing home residents (Sherman & Newman, 1978), and handling museum objects was shown to increase wellness, happiness, and positive affect for some older adults (Thomson & Chatterjee, 2014). In some cases, emotional responses to objects overlapped with the theme of memory. Interestingly, the objects participants spoke about were not exclusively associated with positive emotions. Some older adults spoke about the importance of objects associated with sad memories such as serving in WWII. Frankl's (1955) existential approach stressed the importance of acknowledging suffering rather than simply focusing on the reduction or avoidance of pain. He suggested that making meaning out of personal suffering can be therapeutically beneficial. The findings from these studies align with these ideas.

The theme of connecting with others was also present throughout the literature. Similar to how Winnicott (1971) and Bowlby (1969) described how some special objects can provide a symbolic connection between infant and care giver early in life, studies in this review found some objects were valued later in life because they provided a symbolic connection to another person. These objects related to friends or family both living and deceased. Older adults who had moved into residential care settings said they valued objects such as the TV or telephone because of the practical means they provide for staying connected with the outside world. This was thought to be especially important for people who would otherwise be relatively restricted due to disability. However, it is not clear whether such items are as important for older adults who still live independently in the community, or who are more physically able.

Objects were often related to identity processes. Personal possessions were said to represent identity elements of a persons' past as well as who they are in the present (Kroger & Adair, 2008; Rubinstein, 1987) Some studies suggested objects can play a role in helping older adults negotiate transitions in their identity. For example, some older adults reflected on ageing and their identity as an older person when talking about personal objects such as photographs from their younger days, or in the case of one participant her 'old lady doll'. These reflections fit with Erikson's (1950) ideas on the developmental tasks of ageing. Erikson proposed in late adulthood individuals are confronted with a psychosocial crisis in response to a growing awareness of their mortality. To resolve this crisis, older adults are tasked with reflecting and reviewing the life they have lived with a sense of satisfaction and contentment. Objects were also noted to play a role in helping individuals maintain an internal working model of self during times of transition. For example, when adjusting to retirement, or moving into a care home, objects were suggested to function as physical, concrete, reminders of who the person is. Kroger and Adair (2008) described cherished objects as symbolic anchors that support identity maintenance processes later in life. These observations draw parallels to Winnicott's (1971) notion of the transitional object during infant development. The transitional object comforts the infant through its symbolic representation of the mother and enables them to independently explore their environment (Litt, 1986).

Three studies reported objects as having narrative or storytelling functions later in life. Objects can be props that contribute to an individuals' narrative account of their life (Nord, 2013; Phenice & Griffore, 2013). Objects were also observed to facilitate spontaneous storytelling amongst group members in a museum object handling intervention (Solway et al., 2015). These studies helpfully highlight the importance of storytelling as a cultural means of communicating. Storytelling interconnects the themes of memory, identity, and connecting with others, described by other studies in this review.

The complexities people contend with when giving up objects later in life was also highlighted in this review. Consistent with the views of Tobin (1973) on objects and continuity of self, studies touched on the existential pressures people face to give away personally valued objects in their later years (Ekerdt & Baker, 2014; Marx et al., 2004). However, it was found giving away objects was not always straightforward. Difficulties can arise when there is a mismatch between how an object is valued by its owner and the potential recipient. Resolving this involves sensitive negotiation between giver and recipient. What happens when this negotiation process fails is unclear but would presumably be detrimental for the older adult and their sense of self-continuity.

The importance of objects for older adults who had moved into nursing homes or assisted living accommodation was also highlighted by some studies (Kroger & Adair, 2008; Nord et al, 2013; van Hoof et al., 2016). Such a transition often involves downsizing; a process which inevitably involves giving up some possessions. In some cases, older adults have little control over what objects they bring, and which objects are given away. van Hoof et al., (2016) reported some participants were too ill or in hospital while a move to a nursing home took place. As such, their families were responsible for making decisions about which objects to bring to their new residence. Frankl (1955) and Goffman (1961) warned that in extreme cases the psychological impact of losing objects can be profound.

Furthermore, the findings from museum object studies could potentially offer a therapeutic intervention for the older adults described in Sherman and Newman's study who reported having no cherished objects and low life satisfaction. Both studies clearly describe a role for objects and wellbeing later in life.

Strengths and limitations

The literature reviewed spanned a range of disciplines and methodological approaches. The predominance of case study data lends itself well to the area being explored. These studies have

contributed detailed insights into the roles of material objects later in life. However, this comes at the cost of generalisability to wider populations. Nearly all the studies stated people with neurological conditions or cognitive impairments were excluded from participating. As such, this demographic was particularly under-represented within this research area. This was significant for studies which recruited from nursing home settings, as some estimates suggest up to 69 percent of people living in care homes have dementia (Prince et al., 2014). The absence of any randomised control trials also does not allow causation to be inferred. Studies included in this study ranged from 1978 to 2016. As such, cohort changes across these older adult populations need to be considered. For example, people over 65 in 1978 would have lived through two world wars, whereas some participants in more recent studies would have been born after World War II. Inglehart (2008) suggests the rise of the welfare state and increased economic prosperity since World War II has contributed to changes in the values and priorities of older and younger generations. Inglehart reports older cohorts have shifted from 'materialist' values which centre on economic and physical security to 'post-materialist' values which place a greater emphasis on autonomy, self-expression, and quality of life. Therefore the findings from the earlier studies in this review need to be considered in this context. For example, older adults in these studies may have placed greater value on physical security and have a different perspective on what constitutes quality of life.

Future research

The research to date has largely been carried out at one time point with no follow up. As such, studies which explore person-object relations longitudinally would be beneficial in this field. For example, in recent years, the work of Erikson (1950) has been updated to include information about additional developmental tasks for the oldest old (Erikson & Erikson, 1998). Research across the span of a persons' later years could provide insight into whether their relationship with objects changes as they

continue to develop. Research into the benefits of objects on remembering for older adults with memory difficulties could also be a fruitful area to explore in the future. Camic, Brooker, and Neal (2011) reported the use of found objects in therapy with adults can evoke memories. They recommended clinicians should consider the use of material objects as therapeutic tools. Further exploration of this could help inform clinical work with an older adult population. Finally, the studies in this review highlighted how moving home can represent a significant transition later in life. Moving home brings into focus complex psychological issues relating to identity, continuity of self, loss, and isolation. Further research into the roles and meanings of objects for older adults who have moved could provide greater understanding into these later life issues, as well as inform psychological theory on person-object relations.

Clinical implications

The findings offer cautious support to help inform clinical practices related to supporting older adults later in life. This is particularly important as older adults services are under increasing pressure to improve understanding of how to meet the needs of this population (Age UK, 2014). Ensuring people have cherished belongings with them following a move to a nursing home could have a positive impact on life satisfaction and contribute to individuals feeling at home. Furthermore, the use of museum object handling interventions can increase wellbeing and positive affect, as well as potentially promote social processes that could protect against isolation. The use of objects as aide memoires may also be therapeutically beneficial.

Conclusion

This review considered the roles of material objects for older adults later in life, and identified broad themes that relate to the psychological and developmental challenges of ageing. Objects have roles associated with; memory, emotional responses, connecting with others, identity, storytelling, divestment, and moving home. While there are some studies which provide rich accounts of the ways

objects are used by older adults, this area remains relatively under-researched. The emerging evidence suggests objects may be beneficial for some of the challenges people face later in life such as memory difficulties or managing a significant move. However, further research is needed to increase psychological knowledge and inform clinical practice in this area.

References

- Age UK (2010). Promoting mental health and well-being in later life. Retrieved from http://www.ageuk.org.uk/Documents/EN-GB/For-professionals/Care/Mental%20Health%20and%20Wellbeing%20in%20later%20life_pro.pdf?dk=true
- Atkinson, P. (2001). *Handbook of ethnography*. London: SAGE.
- Belk, R. (1988). possessions and the extended self. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 15, 139. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/209154>
- Booth, A., Papaioannou, D., & Sutton, A. (2014). *Systematic approaches to a successful literature review*. London: SAGE publications.
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss*. London: Hogarth Press.
- Camic, P. M. (2010). From trashed to treasured: A grounded theory analysis of the found object. *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, 4, 81-92. doi:10.1037/a0018429
- Camic, P. M., Brooker, J., & Neal, A. (2011). Found objects in clinical practice: Preliminary evidence. *The Arts in Psychotherapy*, 38, 151-159. doi:10.1016/j.aip.2011.04.002
- Casey, E. S. (1987). *Remembering: A phenomenological study*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.
- Centre for Public Policy Research (2015). Setting an ideal retirement age. Retrieved from: <http://cprp.blogspot.com/2015/03/setting-ideal-retirement-age.html>
- Clark, J. (2003). Qualitative research review guidelines - RATS. Peer Review in Health Sciences. Retrieved from http://bmjopen.bmj.com/content/suppl/2012/01/12/bmjopen-2011-000138.DC1/BMJ_Open_IMG_Physician_Migration_RATS_Checklist.pdf
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981). *The meaning of things: Domestic symbols and the self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Dave, D., Rashad, I. and Spasojevic, J. (2007). The Effects of Retirement on Physical and Mental Health Outcomes. *Southern Economic Journal*. DOI: 10.2139/ssrn.1024475
- de Beauvoir, S. (1973). *The coming of age*. New York: Warner.
- Ebrahim, S. (2000). Poverty, Independence & the Worlds Older People. *British Medical Journal*, 321, 517-517. doi:10.1136/bmj.321.7259.517
- Ekerdt, D., & Baker, L. (2014). The material convoy after age 50. *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 69, 442-450.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbu003>
- Erikson, E. (1950). *Childhood and society*. London: Vintage.
- Erikson, E., & Erikson, J. (1998). *The life cycle completed*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Erikson, E., Erikson, J., & Kivnick, H. (1986). *Vital involvement in old age*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Frankl, V. E. (1955). *Mans search for meaning: An introduction to logotherapy*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Furby, L. (1978). Sharing: Decisions and Moral Judgments about Letting others Use Ones Possessions. *Psychological Reports*, 43, 595-609. doi:10.2466/pr0.1978.43.2.595
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*. New York, NY: Anchor Books, a division of Random House.
- Hoof, J. V., Janssen, M. L., Heesakkers, C. M., Kersbergen, W. V., Severijns, L. E., Willems, L. A., . . . Nieboer, M. E. (2016). The importance of personal possessions for the development of a sense of home of nursing home residents. *Journal of Housing for the Elderly*, 30, 35-51.
doi:10.1080/02763893.2015.1129381
- Inglehart, R. (2008). Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006. *West European Politics*, 31, 130-146. doi: 10.1080/01402380701834747

- Killeen, C. (1998). Loneliness: An epidemic in modern society. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 28, 762-770.
doi:10.1046/j.1365-2648.1998.00703.x
- Klever, S. (2013). Reminiscence therapy. *Nursing*, 43, 36-37.
doi:10.1097/01.nurse.0000427988.23941.51
- Kroger, J., & Adair, V. (2008). Symbolic meanings of valued personal objects in identity transitions of late adulthood. *Identity*, 8, 5-24. doi:10.1080/15283480701787251
- Lin, Y., Dai, Y., & Hwang, S. (2003). The effect of reminiscence on the elderly population: a systematic review. *Public Health Nursing*, 20, 297-306. doi:10.1046/j.1525-1446.2003.20407.x
- Litt, C. J. (1986). Theories of transitional object attachment: an overview. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 9, 383-399. doi:10.1177/016502548600900308
- Martin, M., & Jones, G. V. (2009). Affect and alexithymia determine choice among valued objects. *Emotion*, 9, 340-349. doi:10.1037/a0015247
- Marx, J. I., Solomon, J. C., & Miller, L. Q. (2004). Gift wrapping ourselves: the final gift exchange. *The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 59.
doi:10.1093/geronb/59.5.s274
- Mays, N., & Pope, C. (2000). Qualitative research in health care: Assessing quality in qualitative research. *British Medical Journal*, 320, 50-52. doi:10.1136/bmj.320.7226.50
- Mccracken, G. (1987). Culture and consumption among the elderly: three research objectives in an emerging field. *Ageing and Society*, 7, 203-224. doi:10.1017/s0144686x00012563
- Moher, D., Liberati, A., Tetzlaff, J., & Altman, D. G. (2009). Preferred reporting items for systematic reviews and meta-analyses: The PRISMA statement. *PLoS Medicine*, 6.
doi:10.1371/journal.pmed.1000097
- NHS England (2015). A Practical guide to healthy ageing. Accessed: <https://www.england.nhs.uk/wp->

content/uploads/2015/09/hlthy-ageing-brochr.pdf

- NHS England (2017). Toolkit for general practice in supporting older people living with frailty. Accessed: <https://www.england.nhs.uk/publication/toolkit-for-general-practice-in-supporting-older-people-living-with-frailty/>
- Nord, C. (2013). A day to be lived. Elderly peoples possessions for everyday life in assisted living. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 27, 135-142. doi:10.1016/j.jaging.2012.12.002
- Olson, C. D. (1985). Materialism in the home: The impact of artifacts on dyadic communication. In E. C. Hirschman & M. B. Holbrook (Eds.), *Advance in consumer research* (388-393). Holbrook: Association for Consumer Research
- Osborne, J. (2012). Existential and psychological aspects of the transition to retirement. *European Journal of Psychotherapy & Counselling*, 14, 349-363. doi: 10.1080/13642537.2012.734472
- Pettican, A. & Prior S. (2011). 'It's a new way of life': An exploration of the occupational transition of retirement. *British Journal of Occupational Therapy*, 74, 12-19. <https://doi.org/10.4276/030802211X12947686093521>
- Phenice, L. A., & Griffore, R. J. (2013). The importance of object memories for older adults. *Educational Gerontology*, 39, 741-749. doi:10.1080/03601277.2013.766536
- Popay, J., Roberts, H., Sowden, A., Petticrew, M., Arai, L., Rodgers, M., ... Duffy, S. (2006). Guidance on the conduct of narrative synthesis in systematic reviews. In: Results of an ESRC funded research project. ESRC Methods Programme. doi: 10.13140/2.1.1018.4643
- Prince, M., Knapp, M., Guerchet, M., McCrone, P., Prina, M., Comas-Herrera, A., ... Salimkumar, D. (2014). *Dementia UK: Second Edition - Overview*. Alzheimer's Society.
- Rubinstein, R. I., & Parmelee, P. A., (1992). Attachment to place and the representation of the life course by the elderly. In I. Altman & S. M. Low (Eds.), *Place Attachment* (139-163). New York: Plenum

Press

- Ranada, Å L., & Hagberg, J. (2014). All the things I have — Handling ones material room in old age. *Journal of Aging Studies, 31*, 110-118. doi:10.1016/j.jaging.2014.09.004
- Rubinstein, R. L. (1987). The significance of personal objects to older people. *Journal of Aging Studies, 1*, 225-238. doi:10.1016/0890-4065(87)90015-6
- Shenk, D., Kuwahara, K., & Zablotsky, D. (2004). Older womens attachments to their home and possessions. *Journal of Aging Studies, 18*, 157-169. doi:10.1016/j.jaging.2004.01.006
- Sherman, E., & Newman, E. S. (1978). The meaning of cherished personal possessions for the elderly. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development, 8*, 181-192. doi:10.2190/m1h4-2ntb-92ga-ak32
- Smiraglia, C. (2014). Qualities of the participant experience in an object-based museum outreach program to retirement Communities. *Educational Gerontology, 41*, 238-248. doi:10.1080/03601277.2014.954493
- Solway, R., Thompson, L., Camic, P. M., & Chatterjee, H. J. (2015). Museum object handling groups in older adult mental health inpatient care. *International Journal of Mental Health Promotion, 17*, 201-214. doi:10.1080/14623730.2015.1035520
- Stroebe, M., Schut, H., & Stroebe, W. (2007). Health outcomes of bereavement. *The Lancet, 370* 1960-1973. doi:10.1016/s0140-6736(07)61816-9
- Thomas, B., Ciliska, D., Dobbins, M., & Micucci, S. (2004). A process for systematically reviewing the literature: providing the research evidence for public health nursing interventions. *Worldviews on Evidence-Based Nursing, 1*, 176-184. doi:10.1111/j.1524-475x.2004.04006.x
- Thomson, L. J., & Chatterjee, H. J. (2014). Well-being with objects. *Journal of Applied Gerontology, 35*, 349-362. doi:10.1177/0733464814558267

- Tobin, S. (1996). Cherished possessions: The meaning of things. *Generations*, 20, 46-49.
- Wapner, S., Demick, J., & Redondo, J. P. (1990). Cherished possessions and adaptation of older people to nursing homes. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 31, 219-235.
doi:10.2190/gjpl-atjy-kja3-8c99
- Weiner, A. B. (1992). *Inalienable possessions: The paradox of keeping-while-giving*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weiner, M. B., Brok, A. J., & Snadowsky, A. M. (1987). *Working with the aged: Practical approaches in the institution and community*. Norwalk, CT: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
- WHO (2002). Health statistics and information systems. Proposed working definition of an older person in Africa for the MDS project. Retrieved from:
<http://www.who.int/healthinfo/survey/ageingdefnolder/en/>
- WHO (2015). World report on ageing and health. Accessed: <http://www.who.int/ageing/events/world-report-2015-launch/en/>
- WHO (2017). Mental health of older adults. Fact sheet. Retrieved from:
<http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs381/en/>
- Winnicott, D. W. (1971). *Playing and reality*. London: Routledge.

DANIEL STEVENS BSc Hons

Section B:

**Maintaining the self: Meanings of material objects after a residential transition
later in life**

Word Count: 7618

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
Canterbury Christ Church University for the degree of
Doctor of Clinical Psychology**

APRIL 2018

**SALOMONS
CANTERBURY CHRIST CHURCH UNIVERSITY**

Abstract

Introduction: Moving house later in life can be a major transition. Some studies have identified valued objects may be important to this process however the significance of objects is not well understood and related psychological theory is limited. As such, the present study aimed to build an explanatory model for the meanings of material objects to older adults in the context of a residential transition.

Method: 11 older adults, and 1 care home manager were interviewed about the meanings and roles of valued material objects following a residential transition. Older adult participants lived in either their own home, or a care home. Grounded theory method was used to build a theory for the meanings of material objects for older adults in the context of a residential transition.

Results: Two core categories emerged from this grounded theory study; threats to identity and objects and identity continuity. Four explanatory concepts emerged; moving and identity discontinuity, connections across time, attachments to others, and preserving self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation.

Conclusion: The model proposes moving house later in life can threaten a person's sense of self. However, objects can help people maintain a sense of identity continuity through reminiscence and life review processes. Clinical recommendations include supporting people to move with meaningful objects to facilitate identity maintenance processes, and exploring the topic of objects and identity with older adults while working therapeutically.

Key words: material objects, transition, moving house, ageing, possessions, later life

Introduction

In the UK there are now more people over state pension age than under 18 (DWP, 2015) and the number of older people is set to continue to increase over the next several decades (Age UK, 2010). This is changing the structure of society, with older adult health, social care, and housing under unprecedented demand (DWP, 2015; CMA, 2017). For example, over the next 30 years the number of care home places are likely to double (Age, UK 2014). In addition, the Kings Fund (2016) has reported the current social care system for older adults is “on the brink” (pg.75) with over a quarter of older adults getting less help in recent years. Recent older adult policy objectives have focused on personalisation, promoting independence through prevention, and reablement (Kings Fund, 2016). However, Age UK (2014) states that despite efforts to promote these objectives more still needs to be done. One of the issues is that the needs of older adults are still not well understood (Age UK, 2014).

As people age they face a number of lifespan transitions. For some, older age brings new life opportunities but may also be associated with increasing likelihood of frailty, illness and disability (Gardner, 1994; Wahrendorf, Reinhardt & Siegrist, 2013). Later life can also be a time when many people find they need to adjust to living alone following the loss of a loved one. The increased vulnerability associated with these significant life events often means that housing needs change as people age. However, moving in itself can be a major transition. Moving house later in life is not always planned, sometimes a move is in response to illness or disability (Walker, Curry, & Hogstel, 2007). Regardless of whether a move is voluntary or welcomed, transition is often associated with uncertainty, stress, and a sense of loss (Bridges, 1980; Morse, 2000). Furthermore, in some cases moving house later in life has been associated with a deterioration in health (Choi, 1996).

Ethnographic and other qualitative studies indicate that valued objects can be helpful during transitional periods for older adults. Valued objects are physical possessions, which hold personal meanings for an individual. Wapner, Demick, and Redondo (1990) define valued objects as “those

[objects] considered special by the individual; those that, in a particular way, embody goals, serve a valuable purpose, or reflect the identity of a person” (p. 220). Valued objects are thought to provide individuals with a sense of continuity, comfort and security (Lewis & Butler, 1974). Research about the significance of valued objects later in life is relatively sparse, however there is some evidence that people with valued objects adapt better to nursing homes, and are better supported by staff (Wapner, Demick, & Redondo, 1990). A study carried out by Sherman (1991) also found that older adults living in a care home scored lower on measures of life satisfaction when they did not possess any valued objects.

It has been long established that objects can have a special role in infant attachment processes. Bowlby (1979) described attachment theory as a way of conceptualising the human tendency to make strong emotional bonds with others. Early in life, these bonds provide infants with essential comfort and security. Primary attachment figures provide children with a secure base which enables them to explore the world (Bowlby, 1969, 1979). In the care giver’s absence, children often make use of special items termed “transitional objects” (Winnicott, 1971) for comfort. These items are thought to represent a symbolic connection with the caregiver which provides the child with a sense of comfort and security. However, there has been surprisingly little psychological research in the area of material objects in adulthood (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981; Camic, 2010; Solway, Thompson, Camic, & Chatterjee, 2015).

Developmental psychologist Erik Erikson noted the significance of objects to older adults while investigating late life psychosocial issues. In his theory of psychosocial development, Erikson (1950) outlined a series of psychological conflicts humans strive to resolve across their lifetime. In this theory, he proposed older adults are tasked with reflecting on the life they have lived with a sense of meaning and contentment. While Erikson did not directly explore the role of objects during this developmental stage, he and colleagues observed objects provided a sense of support and continuity for older adults struggling with this life stage.

In addition, there is a well-established relationship between objects and memories (Nord, 2013; Proust, 1927; van Hoof et al., 2016). Casey's (1987) comprehensive work on memory highlights the role of objects as aide-memoires later in life. He also highlights how objects from an earlier time in life can act as inducers of reminiscence. The use of reminiscence interventions in older adult services is well established (Lin, Dwai, Hwang, 2003; Weiner, Brok, & Snadowsky, 1987) and can provide therapeutic benefits such as comfort, fulfilment, and improve self-esteem (Klever, 2013).

With an ageing population there may be a growing number of people who require support with residential transitions later in life. Going forward, health and social care services are tasked with better understanding the needs of this demographic in order to help them with such transitions. Some studies have identified valued objects may be important to this process however the significance of objects is currently not well understood and related psychological theory is limited. As such, the present study aimed to build an explanatory model for the significance of valued objects to older adults in the context of a residential transition.

Method

Participants

The NHS and WHO refer to 60 years onwards as a time when it is more likely people will require mental and physical support for issues directly related to ageing (NHS, 2015; 2017, WHO, 2015; 2017). As such, for the purpose of this review, later life was defined as people over the age of 60. A snowball sampling technique was used to recruit participants. Recruitment materials were developed to invite people who had moved house 'later in life' to participate. A website was created (Appendix D) which was shared through social media. In addition, recruitment flyers were posted to organisations likely to have contact with adults who would identify with this study (Appendix E). These organisations included residential care homes, and a local exercise program for cardiac health. A breakdown of where participants were recruited from is described in table 1. Due to the exploratory nature of this research, no criteria were imposed on when participants had moved, or

the type of property they had moved to. Time since move, and property type is described in table 1. Properties ranged in size, however for each participant the move represented a down-size from their former home.

Participant characteristics

Nineteen people were approached to participate in this study. Eleven older adults, and one manager of a care home consented to take part. All older adults identified as white British with further demographic details presented in table 1. Participants were recruited from within the community in the South East of England, and from a care home in London.

Table 1. *Participant demographics*

Participant Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Marital status	Type of residence	Time in residence	Recruitment
1. Eleanor	Female	89	Single	Care home	8 months	Residential care home
2. Peter	Male	85	Wife deceased	House	8 years	Cardiac exercise class
3. Bridget	Female	88	Husband deceased	Care home	3 years	Residential care home
4. Victoria	Female	83	Partner deceased	House	9 months	Word of mouth
5. Jim	Male	72	Single	Flat	6.5 years	Cardiac exercise class
6. Ron	Male	77	Wife deceased	Flat	2 years	Cardiac exercise class
7. Sharon	Female	74	Husband deceased	Care home	2 years	Residential care home
8. Julia	Female	69	Divorced	House	8 years	Word of mouth
9. Keith	Male	71	Married	Flat	10 years	Cardiac exercise class
10. Wendy	Female	66	Married	Flat	10 years	Word of mouth
11. Iris	Female	93	Husband deceased	House	6 months	Word of mouth
12. Manager	Female	-	-	-	-	Residential care home

Design

Following procedures outlined by Glaser (1978) and Urquhart (2013) a grounded theory approach was used to generate and analyse data. A critical realist epistemological stance was adopted when designing and carrying out this research. This stance assumes the constructs in this research are part of an objective reality which are being described through the use of causal language (Sayer, 2000).

Procedure

When interviewing participants, Mischler (1979) suggests meaning should be viewed within the social context that it occurs. As such, all interviews except one² took place in participants homes. Prior to interview, participants were asked if they could think about some of their most personally valued objects to talk about. Interviews typically started off unstructured following what could be described as a person and object centred approach. This involved initially asking participants to show the interviewer some of their objects, and often involved a tour around their living spaces. This approach allowed participants to recount their stories as recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and allowed the interviewer to be curious and ask questions about objects in the participants home. As interviews progressed, they became more structured and questions were asked with reference to a pre-prepared guide (appendix F). The pre-prepared interview guide was developed in consultation with supervisors and some reference to existing literature. Interviews lasted between 21 minutes and 114 minutes (mean = 49 minutes), with later interviews becoming more focused and brief due to theoretical sampling from previous interviews (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). In the case of the manager, the interview was carried out within the care home, and followed a similar semi-structured approach with reference to an adapted interview guide.

² One interview was carried out over the phone. This interview followed the same format, with the interviewer asking the participant to describe the objects in the room as they referred to them.

Ethical considerations

This project was approved by the Salomons ethics panel of Canterbury Christ Church University (see appendix G). Everyone who expressed an interest in participating in this study was sent a large print information sheet (appendix H) which included information about potential risks and benefits to taking part. A follow-up phone call was then made to all potential participants to go through the participant information sheet and ensure they understood what the study involved. The potential risk that discussing personally valued objects can sometimes be upsetting or cause distress was explored with all potential participants prior to them consenting to participate (see appendix I for consent form used). This risk was also attended to throughout interviews with participants. Questions were asked sensitively, and care was taken to attend to changes in emotion or mood during interviews. On some occasions the interviewer decided not to ask or follow-up on questions which were judged to potentially cause the individual some distress. Some participants briefly presented as sad when talking about personal subjects prompted from a question relating to their objects. On these occasions they were asked if they wanted to continue or if they would like to take a break or stop altogether. None of the participants wanted to prematurely end an interview or withdraw, and all clearly expressed wanting to continue despite any momentary difficult feelings coming up in conversation. All interviews ended with some informal conversation to book-end the interview, and this was used as an additional way of assessing the participant's wellbeing following the interview. The British Psychological Society's Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009) was followed throughout the research.

Data analysis

Data were analysed using grounded theory method to gain a theoretical understanding of the significance of objects following a residential transition (Glaser, 1978; Urquhart, 2013). Following the coding procedure outlined by Glaser (1978) data were open coded, selectively coded, then theoretically coded. The first five interviews were coded line-by-line as recommended in the

grounded theory literature (Glaser, 1978; Strauss, 1987). This helped minimise preconceptions (Charmaz, 2006), and provided a sense of the range of meanings present in the data. Open codes were annotated on to printed transcripts of interviews, or marked-up using the comment function in Microsoft Word. Interviews were then selectively coded while making theoretical memos which encompassed many ideas, but included notes on potential relationships within the data, and considerations for potential theoretical codes. Microsoft Excel was used for this process; excerpts of text, open codes, potential selective codes, and memos were entered into separate columns (see appendix J & K for examples). This provided a useful overview of the data and theoretical memos, and allowed the data to be quickly sorted in various ways. This also greatly helped with the iterative process of comparing and evaluating codes. Through a process of sorting data by selective codes, referring to theoretical memos, and drawing diagrams, an initial set of theoretical codes, and a draft model describing the relationships between codes was developed. The codes and model were further developed and refined following discussions with research supervisors and a research colleague. A reflective diary was kept throughout this process to aid reflexivity (appendix L). For quality assurance purposes, appendix M provides examples of how the theory was grounded in examples and how the model was developed over time (appendix N, O, & P).

Results

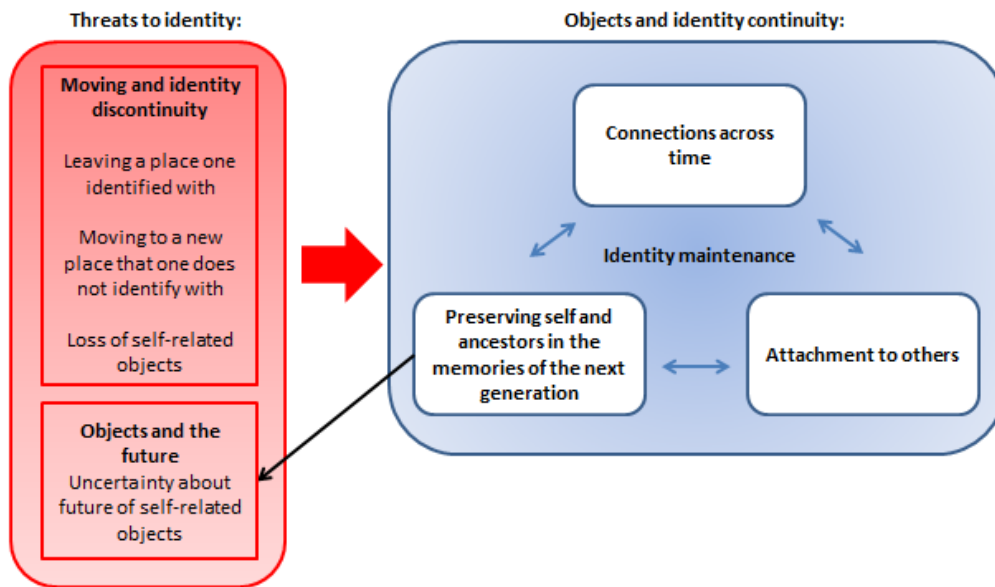


Figure 1. Meanings of material objects for older adults in the context of a residential transition

Overview of the model

Figure 1 is an explanatory model for the meanings of material objects for older adults in the context of a residential transition. Categories and subcategories are presented in table 2. This model depicts how the process of residential transition can present a number of threats to identity continuity. The model also demonstrates how objects can have a role in maintaining a sense of identity in this context.

Table 2. Categories and sub-categories of a model

Moving and identity discontinuity	
	Place and identity
	Loss of objects, loss of self
Connections across time	
	Memories of childhood
	Places of the past
	Holidays and special occasions
Attachments to others	
	Family and friends
	Lost loved ones
Preserving self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation	
	Inherited objects
	Objects and the future

Participants reported moving house later in life can present a challenge to identity. Moving for some meant leaving behind a place they identified with, and can also mean adjusting to living in a new place they do not necessarily identify with. In addition, the moving process can involve giving up objects and losing objects which also has implications for a person's sense of self. Leaving behind objects can be experienced as a loss of self, and can be symbolic of a transition in self-status.

In this study, participants reported objects they have kept following a move can have important roles related to the maintenance of identity. Participants described how objects often had connections to past memories of childhood, former places, and holiday or special occasions. These objects were cited as a source of comfort and gave a sense of continuity by providing people with concrete reminders of where they have come from and the important life events they have lived through. Furthermore, these objects when on display in the home also provide a means of conveying a sense of who a person is to others which can also function to maintain identity. Objects also represented attachments to loved ones for many participants. These objects provide a symbolic link to significant others, living and deceased, which helped participants maintain a sense of connection with others across time and space. This may help participants maintain a sense of identity continuity at a time when their circumstances have undergone significant changes. Participants also described a role for objects in preserving themselves and the memories of their ancestors into the future. This is achieved through a process of looking after inherited objects and making plans to pass objects on to the next generation. Objects inherited from others were dutifully kept following a residential transition to maintain the legacy of former generations. Some participants shared their hopes to pass on these objects and their own items to the next generation as a way of insuring they and their ancestors continue to be remembered into the future. However, some people shared feelings of discomfort when they were uncertain of who would inherit their possessions. This is proposed to represent a threat to identity continuity, with those unable to identify a recipient for their objects risking their selves not being remembered in the future. The categories contributing to the model

will now be considered in more detail. Quotes will be used to exemplify the categories and sub-categories.

Moving and identity discontinuity

"It feels a bit like living out of a suitcase." (Sharon, care home resident)

Place and identity

Moving later in life could present a challenge to one's identity. For some, part of who they were was associated with the place they were leaving. For example, Ron explained how it was hard to leave London, *"I am London born and bred man and beast... at 9 years old it was normal to go to west end cinemas, west end pictures and so I am used to having everything to hand...and it's a day's outing now to go out there"*. For others, moving to a new place challenged their ideas about who they are. For example, Peter described trialling out a move to a care home, which seemed to challenge his sense of who he was, *"So, I tried it... what I found was, I was sitting opposite a hundred-year-old person, they're still with it, but I thought 'well is this me?'"*.

Loss of objects, loss of self

For all participants, moving home involved downsizing to a smaller residence. This involved giving up some items and working out ways to fit remaining items into a smaller space. By far, those with the least space were the participants who lived in a care home. These participants lived out of a single room with very limited storage. As such, these participants faced greater pressure to give up their objects following the move. The care home manager commented on how the downsizing process can be difficult for residents, *"it must be really, really hard for people who are giving up maybe a three, four, two bedroom house to move into what is essentially one room in care generally"*. Giving up objects to downsize to a new home presented as a challenge to participants identity. Leaving behind objects which symbolised an aspect of a person's life could be experienced as leaving behind a part of one's self. Victoria, who downsized after her partner died, described this difficult process, *"very much uh a feeling...that you are unpicking... layers and layers of my life with my partner...and then so to unpick it all and decide which bits of it to get rid of, I mean only obviously"*

symbolically...but even so yes it's not a process I would recommend to anybody it's horrible". Some of the participants who had moved to a care home, described how they had little control over the process of deciding which objects to keep or let go. For example, Sharon explained that her daughter had been responsible for moving her belongings to the care home due to being hospitalised at the time. She described how a cherished set of kitchen pans had been lost in this process, *"Stainless steel one's yeah, I bought one every week, a different size. Now that wouldn't mean anything to her but it did to me"*. Eleanor similarly described how she lost a valued object in the process of moving to a care home, *"Well I had somebody helping me and she thought oh well she's never going to need an umbrella any more I'll just get rid of all her umbrellas and um did...not nice at all..."*. For both Sharon and Eleanor, it seemed as if the loss of the pans and the umbrella may have been representative of a deeper sense of loss. Losing these objects also symbolised a loss of a former way of life.

Connections across time

"Just my things, they just remind me of my life" (Bridget)

The objects which survived participants' residential transition often had strong links to the past. Talking about these objects regularly prompted reminiscence and participants shared stories from their life. Objects were commonly linked to memories of childhood, a former home, holidays and special occasions.

Memories of childhood

Some objects were associated with memories from childhood. For example, Jim explained why a clay dog he owned was so important to him, *"Well, that is that's my little dog Blacky. Called Blacky because he came from Blackpool and he's black and it's the first thing I ever won... It reminds me of holidays in Blackpool and happy times, happy, innocent childhood times y'know?"*. This was a sentiment echoed by other participants, *"they have associations which were to do with being a child*

y'know? Just kind of doing a child-like, childish thing... without any kind of angst or worry or yeah y'know trouble free and security" (Victoria).

Places of the past

Other objects were associated with memories of times spent in past places where they resided or felt connected to in some way. For example, Sharon talked about a collection of frog related objects on display in her room in the care home (figure 4), *"...I mean at one point I was into frogs. We had some of them appear in the garden, they used to come back every spring bank holiday for years. I'd sit out in the back garden for hours in the night with a frog, used to tickle it under the chin".* Sharon's frog objects appeared to provide a mnemonic link to times spent in the garden of her former home.

Some participants remarked that objects they had with them now were kept because they had been on display in their family home when they were growing up. These objects were valued because they had simply always been present, *"well these were always on display as well and this little fellow I don't know where he came from but as far as I remember he was always there" (Jim).* These objects may serve as symbols of continuity, particularly following a significant transition such as a move.

Bridget, who also lives in a care home, had a painting of her former house on the wall. She proudly shared 'the view' of her former home and garden to the interviewer, *"I'll show you a view if you like? that's the view from looking out when I was up there...it's beautiful, lovely...this is my garden...It's very quiet up there and everybody knows everybody".* This painting not only served as a reminder of Bridget's old home, and the life she had there, but also provided a way of sharing this memory with others.

The care home manager described how staff connect to residents through the objects in their room and the memories this elicits from their past, *"if somebody's distressed you look for things in the room that mean something to them because then you can talk about them...so for*

instance it might be a picture...because the more you know about the person and the person's past you've got a starter as to what you could talk about that would make them happy"

Holidays and special occasions

Souvenirs from holidays were also important to some participants. For example, Julia talked about how her collection of stones from Crete reminded her of a family holiday, *"And another thing is Crete... one year we rented a place with [daughter], it was a tiny place on the south of Crete and just round the corner there was this beach which I called dream beach, because all the stones, I mean I've got loads of them but this was the first one I found"*. Some objects were associated with memories of specific events or occasions such as weddings or anniversaries, *"That's on the boat at our anniversary yes, that was our 50 years anniversary, been together"* (Bridget). These objects were typically photographs on display in participants living spaces, *"Well I certainly want the photos... they are all the times, the people, and things y'know. It all comes back... I must have the wedding photos, so I've got that sorta thing there"* (Iris). These objects symbolised the important events in participants own life history.

Attachment to others

"It's usually got some connection with the family or someone a friend that meant a lot to us"

(Wendy)

Family and friends

Some objects held a strong attachment to friends or family. For example, Julia reflected how most of her valued objects were often related to important people in her life, *"I see that what I value here is the children's stuff and yeah, it's connections, I mean they're basically mainly family connections"*. Bridget, who lives in a care home, also described how objects connected to friends and family were important to her, *"I value most, the photographs of various people, various friends, that's my family up there..."*. These objects appeared to provide participants with concrete physical reminders of their important relationships, *"I keep them close to me, it's nice to look at them... nice to think about them"* (Bridget).

The Care Home Manager spoke about the importance of pictures of friends and family especially at a time of residential transition, *"I was taking all the pictures off the wall and saying to the transport driver please ensure these go into her room and they're put up so she doesn't feel isolated"*. Having pictures of family and friends appeared to be thought to provide people with a sense of comfort and a reminder they are not alone.

Lost loved ones

Some objects were specifically connected with deceased loved ones. For example, Iris pointed out a collage on her wall, *"...I've even got my picture there which basically they're all people that are very close to me, but all gone..."*. These objects were not always pictures, participants described a range of items which had a connection one way or another to someone deceased. For example, Keith talked about a tin of nails that used to belong to his brother, *"well my brother, my brother was killed in a car crash... and there's a small tin of nails which belonged to [him] which I haven't thrown away"*. Sometimes these items had taken on a new significance because of the bereavement, *"that has become more important since I lost my wife"* (Ron). Wendy described how objects connected to lost loved ones can stir up memories and emotions, *"I remember I picked up a nutcracker and it brought back an instant memory of my father, and I dissolved into tears"* (Wendy). In these cases, objects had become symbolic to the bereaved.

Preserving self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation

"I think the other feeling that relates to them is that I like the thought... that I've got children and grandchildren who can inherit them, and I hope treasure them" (Victoria)

Inherited objects

Participants often kept objects because they had been inherited from previous generations in the family, *"There's one there that goes back to my great grandma"* (Eleanor). These inherited objects provided participants with a concrete link to people from the past. One participant even described how they were unable to let go of a vase that was passed down from a grandparent when

it had been broken, *"I just couldn't throw it, the bits are in there and I just couldn't throw it"* (Iris). Inherited objects were sometimes imbued with stories that told something about the family had come from. For example, some objects related to members of the family who served in the war, *"He was a wireless operator, I've still got his kit bag I should've brought that on display really"* (Jim). Victoria described how a chair she had inherited from her father was special to her family due to how her father had mended it, *"my father took the beadwork off [and] recovered it with welders' aprons... I have had people fix a broken arm on it and stuff but I don't want it to be recovered, I want it to stay with the welders apron on it..."*. Some participants reported a sense of responsibility for preserving these objects *"[Talking about a piano] That was my grandfather's so I'm still looking after it"* (Julia).

Objects and the future

There was a sense of responsibility for preserving inherited objects for the next generation, *"I don't really consider myself owning these things, I'm taking care of them for the next generation"* (Ron). Gifting these objects to the next generation was seen as a means of maintaining the family legacy, *"...I kept a couple of bits, like that bureau, and a roll top desk, which were my fathers and my grandfathers...I've had them for donkey's years, 40 years or so, and I told both my kids, my sons, that I want one of them to have them rather than selling them off or getting rid of them, purely to keep the family line going..."* (Keith). Wendy described how she had become a keeper of her children's possessions and plans to pass them on now they have their own families, *"I thought let's give it to them, and if they want to keep it, they keep it... it's more relevant for them now to keep, for their memory, for their kids"*. In passing on these objects Wendy also seemed to be planning on handing over responsibility for maintaining the family memories to the next generation.

Iris described how she was having difficulty with the idea of throwing an object away during the moving process and was relieved when her daughter-in-law offered to take it;

Iris: *"she said oh yes I'd like that, I said well funnily enough that goes back to my great grandma"*

Interviewer: *“So you didn’t mind giving it away to [daughter-in-law], but you couldn’t throw it away?”*

Iris: *“Well cause I knew where she was going to put it on the fireplace”*

Knowing the object would continue to exist on display on her daughter-in-law’s fireplace allowed Iris to give up the object and provided her with a degree of comfort that her great grandmother and perhaps herself would continue to be remembered.

However, some participants had not identified people to pass their objects on to. In these cases, thinking about the future of objects seemed to provide some discomfort. For example, Jim openly reflected on his dilemma of wanting to pass on a piece of furniture he had inherited, but not knowing anyone who would value it the way he does, *“I don’t know, I keep thinking about who to give it to... you think if I give it to someone I want them to have feelings for it as I have, and that’s unfair because it’s different circumstances and you can’t expect that...”*. For Jim, the idea of his object going to someone outside of his family was an uncomfortable thought, *“I don’t like the thought of it going to somebody I don’t know”*. This could be because giving objects to a stranger risks the memories and family history associated with the object being lost. Eleanor also contemplated the future of her objects. She described having no close living family and was uncertain about who to give her objects to, *“I’d better do a little thinking so that when I’m gone if there’s anything that I want passed on to anybody in particular that will be what happens”* (Eleanor). Not having a person to pass objects on to may challenge identity continuity for older adults by increasing the risk of not being remembered in the future.

Discussion

This study aimed to build an explanatory model for the meanings of material objects to older adults in the context of a residential transition. Using a grounded theory analysis, a model was proposed which suggests material objects can play an important part in identity maintenance processes following a move. Four explanatory concepts emerged; moving and identity discontinuity, connections across time, attachments to others, and preserving self and ancestors in the memories

of the next generation. This model will now be discussed with reference to existing literature and theory.

Links with extant literature

Participants in this study highlighted how moving later in life presented a challenge to their identity. Identity is a complex field which has been described as 'elusive and difficult to define' (Wetherell & Mohanty, 2010 p.3). Work carried out by Erikson (1968) provides a framework for identity which is based on the premise that identity refers to a subjective sense of sameness and continuity across time and space. Erikson proposed identity is defined through the interaction of biological, psychological, and social processes. Furthermore, an optimal sense of identity provides a holistic sense of well-being where one feels 'at home' in their self and the world around them (Kroger & Adair, 2008). More recently, Breakwell (1986, 1992) has proposed a theory for identity which suggests there are four motives which guide actions towards a cohesive identity. These motives are; continuity across time and situation, distinctiveness from others, self-efficacy, and self-esteem. Breakwell's theory proposes identity is threatened whenever a social context prevents the satisfaction of these four identity motives (Bardi, Jaspal, Polek, Schwartz, 2014). In this study, the context of residential transition provides many potential barriers to the identity motives suggested by Breakwell (1986). Leaving behind a place for some participants represented a significant interruption to continuity of self. The relationship between place and identity is well established in psychological and geographical literature (Korpela, 1989). Identification with a place has been described as a type of social identity by some (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Place identification refers to when a person expresses their belonging to a group defined by a location, for example, when someone refers to their self as a 'Londoner'. As such, leaving a place can mean losing membership to the social group characteristic of that place. In addition, moving can also involve integrating with the social identity of a new place. For example, some participants in this study made comments indicating they did not identify with people who live in care homes. Proshansky (1978) proposed the relationship people have with physical environments is also conceptually related to the structure of

their personality and forms a sub-part of identity in its own right. Twigger-Ross and Uzzell (1996) go further, and suggest all aspects of identity can have place related implications. As such, leaving a place not only represents a geographical change, but can also mean leaving behind a sub-part of identity, or as one participant in this study eloquently described, it can involve “unpicking” one’s self from a former life.

In this study, a relationship between objects and identity was identified. This relationship has also been described in identity literature. In his influential book, Rochberg-Halton (1986) makes the case for humans using objects to develop and maintain a sense of self. This is achieved through a self-dialogue process between a person and their belongings. Cooper (1976) also describes a relationship between objects and identity, suggesting the objects people consider meaningful can reflect something about the nature of their self. Participants in this study described how objects had numerous personal meanings and connections to memories and important people from their lives. For all participants moving house consisted of downsizing to a smaller space which required giving up material possessions. For some, this was a painful process which involved giving up objects with important personal meanings and may also be symbolic of other personal losses happening during that period of time. For example, leaving behind kitchen items to move into a care home may also represent a loss of independence and the role of being someone who can cook. Such issues may also relate to Breakwell’s (1986) identity motives of self-efficacy and self-esteem.

The model in this study proposes moving later in life can contribute to a state of identity discontinuity (due to leaving a place, adapting to a new place, and losing objects). Moving can bring up threats to identity cohesion (Breakwell, 1986) and contributes to later life related changes which require integration with the self (Erikson, 1984). The second part of this model proposes the meanings participants derive from objects; connections across time, attachments to others, and preserving self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation, promotes the maintenance of identity after a residential transition.

Connections across time

Issues related to identity can become increasingly salient later in life due to age related physical and social changes (Lowenthal, Thurnher, & Chiriboga, 1975). Erikson (1968, 1984) suggests as people get older they are challenged to reflect on their identity and integrate who they have been with who they are now. This life review process becomes more important as people get older as they may feel they have less time to contemplate who they are as a person. Participants in this study described how some objects were valued particularly for the connections they have to different times in their life. These objects invoked memories from childhood, important places from the past, and of special occasions. Reminiscing in this way is proposed to provide participants with a sense of who they are and how they have developed across time which supports life review processes (Erikson, 1984) and helps maintain a sense of identity (Breakwell, 1992). These findings fit studies which suggest reminiscence processes are important to identity maintenance later in life. For example, Boylin, Gordon, and Nehrke (1976) report a correlation between reminiscing for the purpose of life review and high ego integrity scores for people living in nursing homes. Lewis (1971) also found an association between reminiscence and maintaining past and present self-concept scores while under stress. Kroger and Adair (2008) suggest objects support identity maintenance processes by providing people with concrete, physical reminders of who person and who they have been in the past. The findings discussed above may support the importance of objects to identity maintenance processes following a residential transition.

Attachment to others

Many objects had a connection to close friends or family; living and deceased. Kroger and Adair (2008) reported a similar finding in their investigation into the symbolic meanings of objects for older adults. Kroger and Adair suggested the symbolic connection between objects and loved ones may provide older adults with a sense of comfort. Psychoanalytic theories of infant development and attachment provide a framework for understanding this phenomenon. Bowlby (1979) described attachment theory as a way of conceptualising the human tendency to make

strong emotional bonds with others. Early in life, these bonds provide infants with essential comfort and security. Primary attachment figures provide children with a secure base which enables them to explore the world (Bowlby, 1969, 1979). In the care giver's absence, children often make use of special items termed "transitional objects" (Winnicott, 1971) for comfort. These items are thought to represent a symbolic connection with the caregiver which provides the child with a sense of security which promotes independence and autonomy. Furthermore, Bowlby (1969) suggested when attachment behaviours can no longer be directed towards members of an older generation, they may be directed towards members of the same generation or the younger one (Brown & Shlosberg, 2006). As such, objects connected with close friends or younger family members, may also serve as transitional objects for adults later in life. The results from this study suggest objects associated with attachments to others may provide a similar function later in life. Objects connected to close loved ones are proposed to provide participants with a sense of comfort, security and closeness which supports identity maintenance by enabling the self-esteem and self-efficacy identity motives to be satisfied (Breakwell, 1992) and a sense of continuity across time and place by providing reminders of one's place in the family.

Preserving self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation

Many of the participants described objects that were valued due to their legacy qualities. Objects had been passed down from prior generations, and participants spoke about their intentions to pass objects on to family members in the future. This may reassure participants that they and their ancestors will continue to be remembered in the future. This fits with Tobin's (1996) hypothesis that objects offer a way of assuring self-continuity later in life. Sousa, Patrao, and Mendes (2015) suggest the process of giving objects later in life is associated with positive affective patterns such as self-worth, autonomy, success, and strength. They argue this process is generally a positive emotional experience for the older adult. However, some participants in the present study appeared to grapple with this process. In some cases, participants questioned whether others would appreciate the object like they do. Tobin (1996) noted how objects cherished for idiosyncratic

reasons can be difficult to pass on as they have limited appeal to others. Some participants also expressed uncertainty about whom to give their objects to in the future. This uncertainty about the future of objects may be experienced as a threat to self-esteem and identity continuity.

Clinical implications

As our society ages, reflections of what it means to be older and how that impacts on identity has never been more important. Older adult health, social care, and housing is under unprecedented demand (DWP, 2015; CMA, 2017) and there is increasing pressure on services to improve understanding of how to meet the needs of this population (Age UK, 2014). Using the model proposed in this study, it is possible to identify several points where clinicians could target interventions to better support older adults with a residential transition. Starting at transition, supporting adults with making decisions about their objects could help them avoid potential future pain associated with losing valued possessions and the impact this has on identity continuity. This is particularly important for older adults moving into care homes who may rely on others to move their objects. Those supporting people with a move are encouraged to talk about objects with older adults, as it might not be obvious that something has important associations with identity until there has been a conversation about it. Providing people with information about the importance of objects to identity following a residential transition may inform decisions about what objects to keep and what objects to leave behind. Advice could also be given about strategies to mitigate the loss of objects, which also might give people permission to keep hold of some things even when it seems slightly impractical. For example, the comfort of keeping hold of objects, may outweigh the value of free space for some people.

Clinicians are also encouraged to have conversations with people about material possessions. In the experience of this researcher, these conversations can often lead to rich discussions about their trials and tribulations. These discussions can prompt reflections which may help with life review tasks associated with identity maintenance as people get older (Erikson, 1950).

Furthermore, conversations about objects may also provide clinicians with a deeper understanding of their clients which may provide insights into other ways they can support them. Camic (2010) also advocates the inclusion of material objects in therapy, suggesting objects may provide clinical benefits through promoting creativity, discovery and engagement.

When objects have been lost due to a transition, it might be beneficial for clinicians to consider the impact that has on a person's sense of identity. In some cases, the loss of an object might be representative of a deeper sense of loss the client is struggling with such as a loss of autonomy or role. Finally, consideration should be given to whether a person can be supported with accessing the positive affective processes associated with passing on objects to future generations (Sousa et al., 2015).

Limitations and research recommendations

This study recruited a relatively small number of white British people from the community in the South East of England or from a care home which was situated in London. This limits the generalisability of the findings in this study. Future research in this area should consider recruiting from different older adult demographics. For example, it is plausible that there could be significant cultural differences related to object legacies. The participants in this study also freely volunteered to take part in this research. As such, there could be particular characteristics about the people in this study and their values about objects which differ from the wider population. For example, there may be people who have little interest in objects which are not represented in this study. Furthermore, participants in this study predominantly lived alone, which could also skew the findings. Research which explores whether there are differences between those who live alone, and those who live with others may also be a useful area to research in the future. Following on from the clinical recommendations, research into providing advice about objects for those moving home later in life, and investigating the feasibility of clinicians involving valued objects in supporting older adults would also be fruitful avenues to explore in the future.

Further considerations of the range of factors related to the sample

Participants in the study ranged from age 66 – 93. As such generational differences will apply to this cohort. For example, Inglehart (2008) suggests the values of older adults has gradually shifted over the past 45 years away from ‘materialist’ beliefs which place an emphasis on economic and physical security to ‘post-materialist’ values which focus on self-expression, autonomy, and quality of life. In this study there was also a large range in the time participants had spent in their current residence (0.5 – 10 years). This could have important implications for the model presented in this study. The model outlines how moving can present a threat to identity, in part due to leaving behind a place one identified with and/or moving to a place one does not identify with. However, time spent in the new location could be an important factor. For example, those who have moved more recently will have had less time to develop a sense of place attachment (Rubinstein & Parmelee, 1992). As such, it could be hypothesised that those who have moved more recently may feel a greater sense of identity discontinuity. This would be a useful area to explore in future research.

The reasons why people moved was not directly explored in this study. Some participants indicated their move was in relation to a significant change in life circumstances such as a change in health or loss of a loved one. However, for others their motivation for moving was not clear. The reasons and circumstances surrounding a move may impact on the objects people value following a residential transition and the meanings associated with these objects. For example, participants who had lost significant others often shared photos or items related to the person who had died. Future studies should also consider exploring the reasons behind a move in more detail to ascertain whether this impacts on the meanings of objects after a residential transition.

Conclusion

Two core categories emerged from this grounded theory study; threats to identity and objects and identity continuity. The model proposes moving house later in life can threaten a person's sense of self. Moving can involve leaving behind a place and objects that one identifies with, and integrating the physical, social, and psychological changes related to moving with one's identity. Objects were described to have important personal meanings which helped people maintain a sense of identity continuity following residential transition. These were organised into three explanatory constructs; connections across time, attachment to others, and preserving the self and ancestors in the memories of the next generation. Objects were associated with comfort, security and life review processes which support identity continuity later in life. Clinical recommendations include supporting people to move with meaningful objects to facilitate identity maintenance processes, and exploring the topic of objects and identity with older adults while working therapeutically.

References

- Age UK (2010). Promoting mental health and well-being in later life. Retrieved from http://www.ageuk.org.uk/Documents/EN-GB/For-professionals/Care/Mental%20Health%20and%20Wellbeing%20in%20later%20life_pro.pdf?dtrk=true
- Age UK (2014). Improving later life: Understanding the oldest old. Retrieved from: https://www.ageuk.org.uk/globalassets/age-uk/documents/reports-and-publications/reports-and-briefings/health--wellbeing/rb_feb13_understanding_the_oldest_old_improving_later_life.pdf
- Bardi, A., Jaspal, R., Polek, E., & Schwartz, S. (2014). Values and identity process theory: Theoretical integration and empirical interactions. In *Identity Process Theory*, R. Jaspal & G. Breakwell (Eds.), pp. 175-200. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boylin, W., Gordon, S. K., & Nehrke, M. F. (1976). Reminiscing and ego integrity in institutionalized elderly males. *The Gerontologist*, 16, 118-124. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/geront/16.2.118>.
- Breakwell, G. (1986). *Coping with threatened identity*. London: Methuen.
- Breakwell, G. (1992). Processes of self-evaluation: efficacy and estrangement. In G. M. Breakwell (Ed.) *Social psychology of identity and the self-concept*. Surrey: Surrey University Press.
- Bridges, W. (1980). *Transitions: Making sense of life's changes*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Browne, C. J. & E. Shlosberg. (2006). Attachment theory, ageing and dementia: A review of the literature. *Aging & Mental Health*, 10, 134-142. doi: 10.1080/13607860500312118
- Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and loss*. London: Hogarth Press.

- Bowlby, J. (1979). *The making & breaking of affectional bonds*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Camic, P. M. (2010). From trashed to treasured: A grounded theory analysis of the found object. *Psychology of Aesthetics, Creativity, and the Arts*, 4, 81-92. doi:10.1037/a0018429.
- Casey, E. S. (1987). *Remembering: A phenomenological study*. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage Publications.
- Choi, N. G. (1996). Older persons who move: Reasons and health consequences. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 15, 325-344. doi:10.1177/073346489601500304.
- Clark, J. M., & Paivio, A. (1991). Dual coding theory and education. *Educational Psychology Review*, 3, 149–210. doi:10.1007/BF01320076.
- CMA, 2017. Care homes market study: summary of final report. Retrieved from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/care-homes-market-study-summary-of-final-report/care-homes-market-study-summary-of-final-report>
- Cooper, C. (1976). The house as symbol of the self. In H. M. Proshansky, W. H. Ittelson & L. G. Rivlin (Eds.) *Environmental psychology: People and their physical settings*, 2nd ed. New York: Holt.
- Csikszentmihalyi, M., & Rochberg-Halton, E. (1981). *The meaning of things: Domestic symbols and the self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- DWP, 2015. 2010 to 2015 government policy: older people. Retrieved from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/2010-to-2015-government-policy-older-people/2010-to-2015-government-policy-older-people#actions>

Ebrahim, S. (2000). Poverty, Independence & the Worlds Older People. *BMJ*, 321(7259), 517-517.

doi:10.1136/bmj.321.7259.517

Erikson, E. (1950). *Childhood and society*. London: Vintage.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E., Erikson, J., & Kivnick, H. (1986). *Vital involvement in old age*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Festinger, L. (1957). *A theory of cognitive dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Festinger, L., & Carlsmith, J. M. (1959). Cognitive consequences of forced compliance. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 58, 203-210. doi:10.1037/h0041593

Gardner, I. L. (1994). Why people move to retirement villages: Home owners and non-home owners.

Australian Journal of Ageing, 13, 36-40. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-6612.1994.tb00632.x

Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity: Advances in the methodology of grounded theory*. Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press.

Glaser, B., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago: Aldine

Hendricks, J., & Achenbaum, A. (1999). Historical development of theories of aging. In V. L. Bengtson &

K. W. Schaie (Eds.), *Handbook of theories of aging* (21–39). New York: Springer Publishing

Hoof, J. V., Janssen, M. L., Heesakkers, C. M., Kersbergen, W. V., Severijns, L. E., Willems, L. A., . . .

Nieboer, M. E. (2016). The Importance of Personal Possessions for the Development of a Sense of Home of Nursing Home Residents. *Journal of Housing for the Elderly*, 30, 35-51.

doi:10.1080/02763893.2015.1129381

Hogg, M. A. & Abrams, D. (1988). *Social Identifications*. London: Routledge

- Inglehart, R. (2008). Changing Values among Western Publics from 1970 to 2006. *West European Politics*, 31, 130-146. doi: 10.1080/01402380701834747
- Klever, S. (2013). Reminiscence therapy. *Nursing*, 43, 36-37.
doi:10.1097/01.nurse.0000427988.23941.51
- Korpela, K. M. (1989). Place identity as a product of environmental self-regulation. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 9, 241-256.
- Kroger, J., & Adair, V. (2008). Symbolic meanings of valued personal objects in identity transitions of late adulthood. *Identity*, 8, 5-24. doi:10.1080/15283480701787251
- Lewis, C. (1971). Reminiscing and Self-Concept in Old Age. *Journal of Gerontology*, 26, 240-243. doi: 10.1093/geronj/26.2.240
- Lewis & Butler (1974). Relations between Individual and Group Therapy. *Group Psychotherapy*.
doi:10.4159/harvard.9780674600249.c18
- Lin, Y., Dai, Y., & Hwang, S. (2003). The effect of reminiscence on the elderly population: A systematic review. *Public Health Nursing*, 20, 297-306. doi:10.1046/j.1525-1446.2003.20407.x
- Lowenthal, M. F., Thurnher, M., & Chiriboga, D. (1975). *Four stages of life*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- Mishler, E. (1979). Meaning in context: Is there any other kind? *Harvard Educational Review*, 49, 1-19.
- Morse, D.L. (2000). Relocation stress syndrome is real. *American Journal of Nursing*, 100, 24-30. Doi: 10.1097/00000446-200008000-00046
- Nord, C. (2013). A day to be lived. Elderly peoples possessions for everyday life in assisted living. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 27, 135-142. doi:10.1016/j.jaging.2012.12.002

- Norman, D. A. (2004). *Emotional design: Why we love (or hate) everyday things*. New York: Basic Books
- Paivio, A. (1986). *Mental representations: A dual coding effect*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Phenice, L. A., & Griffore, R. J. (2013). The importance of object memories for older adults. *Educational Gerontology, 39*, 741-749. doi:10.1080/03601277.2013.766536
- Proshansky, H. M. (1978). The city and self-identity. *Environment and Behavior, 10*, 147–169.
- Heuet, S., Goldhammer, A., & Proust, M. (2015). *In search of lost time: Swanns way*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation
- Rochberg-Halton, E. (1984). Object relations, role models and cultivation of the self. *Environment and Behaviour, 16*, 335–368.
- Rubinstein, R. L. (1987). The significance of personal objects to older people. *Journal of Aging Studies, 1*, 225-238. doi:10.1016/0890-4065(87)90015-6
- Rubinstein R.I., Parmelee P.A. (1992) Attachment to Place and the Representation of the Life Course by the Elderly. In: Altman I., Low S.M. (Eds.) *Place Attachment Human Behavior and Environment* (Advances in Theory and Research), Vol 12. Springer, Boston, MA
- Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and social science*. London: Sage
- Sherman, E. (1991). Reminiscentia: cherished objects as memorabilia in late-life reminiscence. *The International Journal of Aging & Human Development, 33*, 89-100. doi: 10.2190/FJW1-60UF-WW1R-FP2K
- Sherman, E. & Dacher, J. (2005). Cherished objects and the home: Their meaning and roles in later life. In G. D. Rowles & H. Chaudhury. (Eds.), *Home and identity in late life international perspectives*

(pp. 63-79). New York, NY: Springer.

Shenk, D., Kuwahara, K., & Zablotsky, D. (2004). Older women's attachments to their home and possessions. *Journal of Aging Studies, 18*, 157-169. doi:10.1016/j.jaging.2004.01.006

Smiraglia, C. (2014). Qualities of the participant experience in an object-based museum outreach program to retirement communities. *Educational Gerontology, 41*, 238-248. doi:10.1080/03601277.2014.954493

Solway, R., Thompson, L., Camic, P. M., & Chatterjee, H. J. (2015). Museum object handling groups in older adult mental health inpatient care. *International Journal of Mental Health Promotion, 17*, 201-214. doi:10.1080/14623730.2015.1035520

Sousa, L., Patrão, M., & Mendes, Á. (2015). Material inheritances: An affective story in the history of elderly persons. *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life, 9*, 35-52. doi:10.3384/ijal.1652-8670.15266

Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

British Psychological Society. (2009). Code of ethics and conduct. Leicester: BPS. doi:10.1177/0969733008095390

The Kings Fund (2016). Social care for older people: Home truths. Retrieved from: https://www.kingsfund.org.uk/sites/default/files/field/field_publication_file/Social_care_older_people_Kings_Fund_Sep_2016.pdf

Thomson, L. J., & Chatterjee, H. J. (2014). Well-being with objects. *Journal of Applied Gerontology, 35*, 349-362. doi:10.1177/0733464814558267

Thomson, L. J., Ander, E. E., Menon, U., Lanceley, A., & Chatterjee, H. J. (2012). Quantitative evidence for wellbeing benefits from a heritage-in-health intervention with hospital patients. *International*

Journal of Art Therapy, 17, 63-79. doi:10.1080/17454832.2012.687750

Tobin, S. (1996). Cherished possessions: The meaning of things. *Generations*, 20, 46-49.

Twigger-Ross, C., & Uzzell, D. (1996). Place and identity processes. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16, 205-220. doi: 10.1006/jevp.1996.0017

Urquhart, C. (2013). *Grounded theory for qualitative research. A practical guide*. London:

Sage Publications.

Steenwinkel, I. V., Baumers, S., & Heylighen, A. (2012). Home in later life. *Home Cultures*, 9, 195-217.

doi:10.2752/175174212x13325123562304

Wahrendorf, M., Reinhardt, J., & Siegrist, J. (2013). Relationships of disability with age among adults aged 50 to 85: Evidence from the United States, England and Continental Europe. *Plos ONE*, 8, e71893. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0071893

Walker, C. A., Curry, L. C. & Hogstel, M. O. (2007). Relocation stress syndrome in older adults transitioning from home to a long-term care facility: Myth or reality? *Journal of Psychosocial Nursing & Mental Health Studies*, 45, 38 -45.

Walmsley J. & Downer J. (1997) Shouting the loudest: self advocacy, power and diversity. In

Empowerment in Everyday Life: Learning Disability (eds P. Ramcharan, G. Roberts, G. Grant & J. Borland), Jessica Kingsey Publishers Ltd, London, UK. Wetherell, M., & Mohanty, C. (2013). *The sage handbook of identities*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Wapner, S., Demick, J., & Redondo, J. P. (1990). cherished possessions and adaptation of older people to nursing homes. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 31, 219-235. doi:10.2190/gjpl-atjy-kja3-8c99

Weiner, M. B., Brok, A. J., & Snadowsky, A. M. (1987). *Working with the aged: Practical approaches in*

the institution and community. Norwalk, CT: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

WHO (2002). Health statistics and information systems. Proposed working definition of an older person in Africa for the MDS project. Retrieved from:

<http://www.who.int/healthinfo/survey/ageingdefnolder/en/>

Winnicott, D. W. (1971). *Playing and reality*. London: Routledge.

Wimpenny, P., & Gass, J. (2000). Interviewing in phenomenology and grounded theory: is there a difference? *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31, 1485-1492. doi:

10.1046/j.1365-2648.2000.01431.x

Appendices

Appendix A - Qualitative research review guidelines RATS (Clark, 2003)

■ Qualitative research review guidelines – RATS

ASK THIS OF THE MANUSCRIPT	THIS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE MANUSCRIPT	✓
R Relevance of study question		
Is the research question interesting?	Research question explicitly stated	✗
Is the research question relevant to clinical practice, public health, or policy?	Research question justified and linked to the existing knowledge base (empirical research, theory, policy)	✗
A Appropriateness of qualitative method		
Is qualitative methodology the best approach for the study aims? <i>Interviews:</i> experience, perceptions, behaviour, practice, process <i>Focus groups:</i> group dynamics, convenience, non-sensitive topics <i>Ethnography:</i> culture, organizational behaviour, interaction <i>Textual analysis:</i> documents, art, representations, conversations	Study design described and justified e.g., why was a particular method (i.e., interviews) chosen?	✗
T Transparency of procedures		
<i>Sampling</i> Are the participants selected the most appropriate to provide access to type of knowledge sought by the study? Is the sampling strategy appropriate?	Criteria for selecting the study sample justified and explained <i>theoretical:</i> based on pre conceived or emergent theory <i>purposive:</i> diversity of opinion <i>volunteer:</i> feasibility, hard-to-reach groups	✗
<i>Recruitment</i> Was recruitment conducted using appropriate methods? Is the sampling strategy appropriate? Could there be selection bias?	Details of how recruitment was conducted and by whom Details of who chose not to participate and why	✗ ✗
<i>Data collection</i> Was collection of data systematic and comprehensive? Are characteristics of the study group and setting clear? Why and when was data collection stopped, and is this reasonable?	Method (s) outlined and examples given (e.g., interview questions) Study group and setting clearly described End of data collection justified and described	✗ ✗ ✗
<i>Role of researchers</i> Is the researcher (s) appropriate? How might they bias (good and bad) the conduct of the study and results?	Do the researchers occupy dual roles (clinician and researcher)? Are the ethics of this discussed? Do the researcher(s) critically examine their own influence on the formulation of the research question, data collection, and interpretation?	✗ ✗

<p><i>Ethics</i></p> <p>Was informed consent sought and granted?</p> <p>Were participants' anonymity and confidentiality ensured?</p> <p>Was approval from an appropriate ethics committee received?</p>	<p>Informed consent process explicitly and clearly detailed</p> <p>Anonymity and confidentiality discussed</p> <p>Ethics approval cited</p>	<p>✘</p> <p>✘</p> <p>✘</p>
<p>S Soundness of interpretive approach</p>		
<p><i>Analysis</i></p> <p>Is the type of analysis appropriate for the type of study? <i>thematic: exploratory, descriptive, hypothesis generating framework: e.g., policy</i> <i>constant comparison/grounded theory: theory generating, analytical</i></p> <p>Are the interpretations clearly presented and adequately supported by the evidence?</p> <p>Are quotes used and are these appropriate and effective?</p> <p>Was trustworthiness/reliability of the data and interpretations checked?</p>	<p>Analytic approach described in depth and justified</p> <p><i>Indicators of quality: Description of how themes were derived from the data (inductive or deductive)</i> Evidence of alternative explanations being sought Analysis and presentation of negative or deviant cases Description of the basis on which quotes were chosen Semi-quantification when appropriate Illumination of context and/or meaning, richly detailed</p> <p>Method of reliability check described and justified e.g., was an audit trail, triangulation, or member checking employed? Did an independent analyst review data and contest themes? How were disagreements resolved?</p>	<p>✘</p> <p>✘</p> <p>✘</p> <p>✘</p>
<p><i>Discussion and presentation</i></p> <p>Are findings sufficiently grounded in a theoretical or conceptual framework?</p> <p>Is adequate account taken of previous knowledge and how the findings add?</p> <p>Are the limitations thoughtfully considered?</p> <p>Is the manuscript well written and accessible?</p>	<p>Findings presented with reference to existing theoretical and empirical literature, and how they contribute</p> <p>Strengths and limitations explicitly described and discussed</p> <p>Evidence of following guidelines (format, word count) Detail of methods or additional quotes contained in appendix Written for a health sciences audience</p>	<p>✘</p> <p>✘</p> <p>✘</p>
		<p>?</p>
<p>Are <u>red flags</u> present? these are common features of ill conceived or poorly executed qualitative studies, are a cause for concern, and must be viewed critically. They might be fatal flaws, or they may result from lack of detail or clarity.</p>	<p><i>Grounded theory: not a simple content analysis but a complex, sociological, theory generating approach</i> <i>Jargon: descriptions that are trite, pat, or jargon filled should be viewed sceptically</i> <i>Over interpretation: interpretation must be grounded in "accounts" and semi-quantified if possible or appropriate</i> <i>Seems anecdotal, self evident: may be a</i></p>	<p>✘</p>

superficial analysis, not rooted in conceptual framework or linked to previous knowledge, and lacking depth
Consent process thinly discussed: may not have met ethics requirements
Doctor-researcher: consider the ethical implications for patients and the bias in data collection and interpretation

The RATS guidelines modified for BioMed Central are copyright Jocelyn Clark, BMJ. They can be found in Clark JP: **How to peer review a qualitative manuscript**. In *Peer Review in Health Sciences*. Second edition. Edited by Godlee F, Jefferson T. London: BMJ Books; 2003:219-235

Appendix B - Excerpt of qualitative quality assessment

The qualitative studies were appraised using RATs guidance (Relevance, Appropriateness, Transparency, Soundness) for critiquing qualitative research (Clark, 2003).

van Hoof, J., Janssen, M., Heesakkers, C., van Kersbergen, W., Severijns, L., & Willems, L. et al. (2016). The Importance of Personal Possessions for the Development of a Sense of Home of Nursing Home Residents. <i>Journal of Housing For the Elderly</i>, 30, 35-51. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02763893.2015.1129381	Justification	Score (0 or 1)
1. Is the research question interesting?	Yes	1
2. Is the research question relevant to clinical practice, public health, or policy?	Question is justified and linked to public health and care home policy	1
3. Is qualitative methodology the best approach for the study aims?	Yes, interviews appropriate for exploring subjective sense of home and subjective value of personal belongings	1
4. Are the participants selected the most appropriate to provide access to the type of knowledge sought by the study?	Yes, participants were recruited from multiple nursing homes	1
5. Is the sampling strategy appropriate?	Yes, sample appears to be purposive given the research question	1
6. Was recruitment conducted using appropriate methods?	Yes	1
7. Could there be selection bias?	Possibly. Being able to hold an in-depth interview for at least 45 minutes was part of the inclusion criteria. As such, the voices of less able residents may not have been included in this study	0
8. Was collection of data systematic and comprehensive?	Yes	1
9. Are characteristics of the study group and setting clear?	Yes, clearly set out in a table	1
10. Why and when was data collection stopped, and is this reasonable?	This is not made clear in method/data analysis	0
11. Is the researcher(s) appropriate? How might they bias (good and bad) the conduct of the study and results?	Yes, they include a section on ethics and reflect on limitations of the study	1
12. Was informed consent sought and granted?	Yes	1
13. Were participants' anonymity and confidentiality ensured?	Yes	1
14. Was approval from an appropriate ethics	Not explicitly stated	0

committee received?		
15. Is the type of analysis appropriate for the type of study?	Yes, analysis is explained and is appropriate for the study	1
16. Are the interpretations clearly presented and adequately supported by the evidence?	Yes, presented clearly under sub headings with quotes which support interpretations	1
17. Are quotes used and are these appropriate and effective?	Yes	1
18. Was trustworthiness/reliability of the data and interpretations checked?	Yes 5 researchers were involved in coding, and then another member of the team approved codes	1
19. Are findings sufficiently grounded in a theoretical or conceptual framework?	Yes, findings are linked to theory in the discussion	1
20. Is adequate account taken of previous knowledge and how the findings add?	Yes	1
21. Are the limitations thoughtfully considered?	Yes, there is a section on this	1
22. Is the manuscript well written and accessible?	Yes	1
23. Are red flags present? These are common features of ill-conceived or poorly executed qualitative studies, are a cause for concern, and must be viewed critically. They might be fatal flaws, or they may result from lack of detail or clarity.	No, the article is clearly written and there is a considered discussion and conclusion.	1
<i>Total score out of a possible 23</i>		<i>20</i>
Kroger, J., & Adair, V. (2008). Symbolic Meanings of Valued Personal Objects in Identity Transitions of Late Adulthood. <i>Identity</i>, 8, 5-24. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/15283480701787251	Justification	Score (0 or 1)
1. Is the research question interesting?	Yes the research question is clearly framed	1
2. Is the research question relevant to clinical practice, public health, or policy?	A knowledge gap is identified which justifies the research question, and it relates to the clinical practice of helping people 'age well' but links to clinical practice, public health, or policy could be made clearer	1
3. Is qualitative methodology the best approach for the study aims?	Yes, and the method is described well.	1
4. Are the participants selected the most appropriate to provide access to the type of knowledge sought by the study?	Yes, older adults living in an assisted living community	1
5. Is the sampling strategy appropriate?	Yes, but sampling strategy could have been more explicitly described	1
6. Was recruitment conducted using appropriate methods?	Yes	1
7. Could there be selection bias?	Yes, community directors first approached residents and this could have introduced selection bias. Study was not open to residents with 'cognitive	0

	impairment' but no information is provided about how this was screened.	
8. Was collection of data systematic and comprehensive?	Yes	
9. Are characteristics of the study group and setting clear?	Yes (although a table with participant characteristics could have made this even clearer)	1
10. Why and when was data collection stopped, and is this reasonable?	End of data collection was not justified or described	0
11. Is the researcher(s) appropriate? How might they bias (good and bad) the conduct of the study and results?	This is not discussed.	0
12. Was informed consent sought and granted?	Yes	1
13. Were participants' anonymity and confidentiality ensured?	Yes	1
14. Was approval from an appropriate ethics committee received?	Yes	1
15. Is the type of analysis appropriate for the type of study?	Yes	1
16. Are the interpretations clearly presented and adequately supported by the evidence?	Yes, clearly presented under subheadings	1
17. Are quotes used and are these appropriate and effective?	Yes. Although there is a section called 'additional observations' which includes quotes from a participant which did not fit under the authors main themes. I am not sure how this fits in with the authors theory.	1
18. Was trustworthiness/reliability of the data and interpretations checked?	Labels and interpretations were discussed between one of the authors and 2 psychology students, these were then agreed with the second author. Given my concern from the last box, an independent analyst would have benefited the reliability of the analysis	0
19. Are findings sufficiently grounded in a theoretical or conceptual framework?	The findings are related Erikson & Erikson's developmental theory of ageing in later life (integrity vs despair). However, I feel more could have been done to ground these results into empirical/theoretical literature on ageing and identity. For example, one of the authors cites their own work on identity revision processes in the introduction, however does not link the	0

	results of this paper back to their earlier work in the discussion/conclusion	
20. Is adequate account taken of previous knowledge and how the findings add?	Yes, somewhat	1
21. Are the limitations thoughtfully considered?	No. Future directions are considered, but there no reflection on the limitations of this study	0
22. Is the manuscript well written and accessible?	Yes, it is clear and comprehensible.	1
23. Are red flags present? These are common features of ill-conceived or poorly executed qualitative studies, are a cause for concern, and must be viewed critically. They might be fatal flaws, or they may result from lack of detail or clarity.	The analysis is a little light on theory, and more could have been done to describe how the results link identity maintenance and revision procedures which are introduced at the start of the paper. This would have been more inline with the theory generating approach of grounded theory.	0
<i>Total score out of a possible 23</i>		<i>15</i>

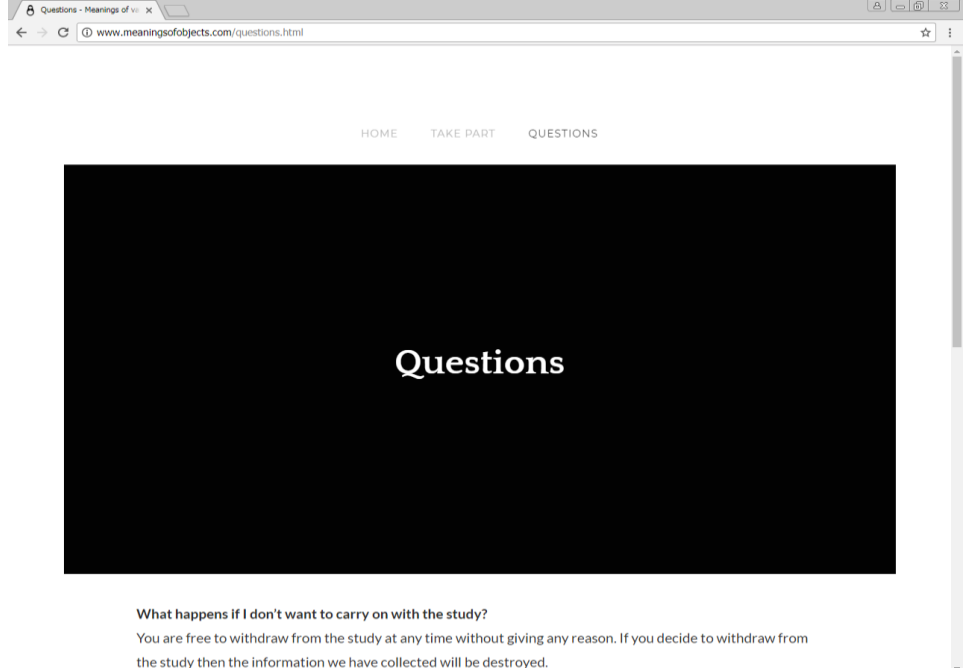
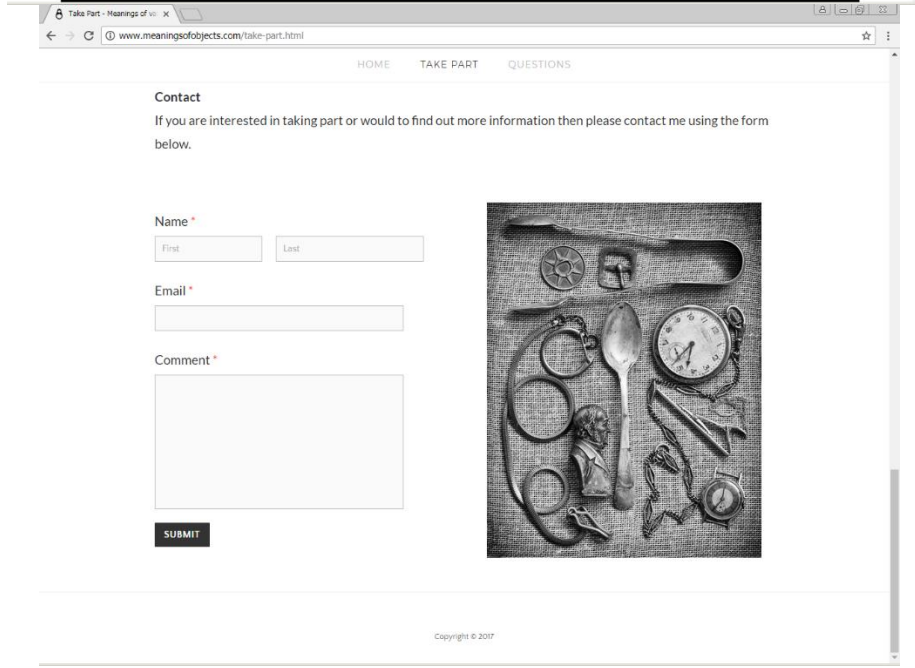
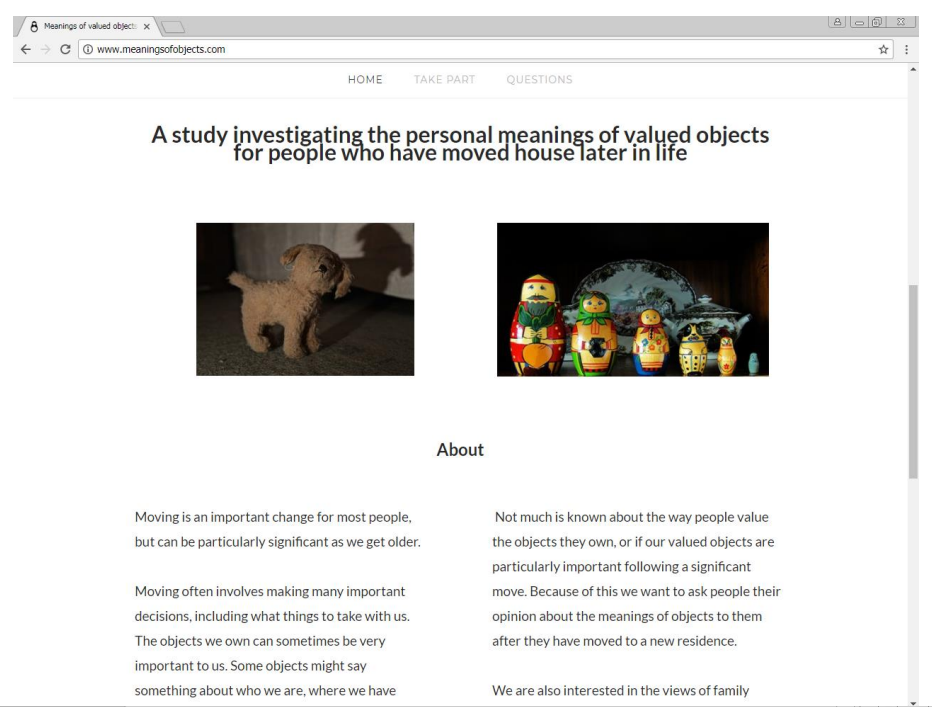
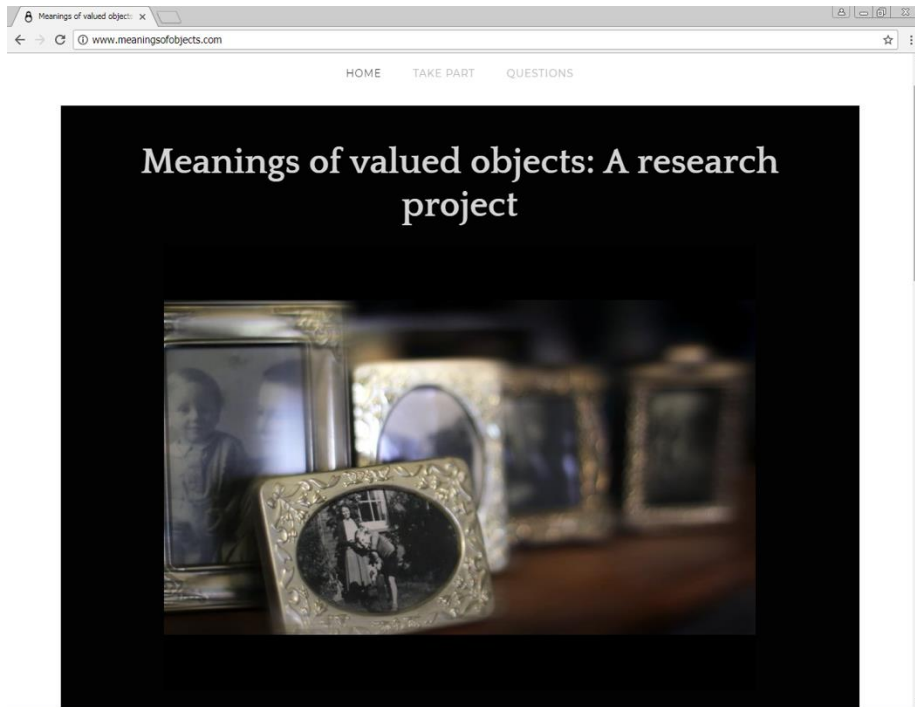
Appendix C - Excerpt of quality assessment for quantitative papers

Effective public health practice project (EPHPP) quality assessment tool for quantitative studies

Ekerdt, D., & Baker, L. (2014). The Material Convoy After Age 50. <i>The Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences</i>, 69, 442-450. http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbu003	Justification	Score
Selection bias:		
Is the sample representative of target sample?	Very likely	
What percentage of selected individuals participated?	80-100%	
Rating	Strong	Strong
Study design:		
What was the study design?	Cross-sectional survey	
Was the study described as randomised?	No	
If yes, was the method of randomisation described?	N/A	
If yes, was the method appropriate?	N/A	
Rating		Moderate
Confounders:		
Were there important differences between the groups prior to the intervention?	Can't tell	
If yes, indicate the percentage of relevant confounders that were controlled?	N/A	
Rating		Weak
Blinding:		
Was (were) the outcome assessor(s) aware of the intervention or exposure status of participants?	Yes	
Were the study participants aware of the research question?	No	
Rating:		Moderate
Data collection methods:		

Were data collection tools shown to be valid?	Can't tell	
Were data collection tools shown to be reliable?	Can't tell	
Rating:		Weak
Withdrawals and drop-outs:		
Were withdrawals and drop-outs reported in terms of numbers and/or reasons per group?	N/A	
Indicate the percentage of participants completing the study. (If the percentage differs by groups, record the lowest)	80-100%	
Rating:		Moderate
Intervention integrity:		
What percentage of participants received the allocated intervention or exposure of interest?	N/A	
Was the consistency of the intervention measured?	N/A	
Is it likely that subjects received an unintended intervention (contamination or co-intervention) that may influence the results?	N/A	
Rating:	N/A	
Analyses:		
Indicate the unit of allocation	Individual	
Indicate the unit of analysis	Individual	
Are the statistical methods appropriate for the study design?	Yes	
Is the analysis performed by intervention allocation status (i.e. intention to treat) rather than the actual intervention received?	N/A	
Global rating:		Weak Score
Sherman, E., & Newman, E. (1978). The Meaning of Cherished Personal Possessions for the Elderly. <i>The International Journal of Aging and Human Development</i> , 8, 181-192. http://dx.doi.org/10.2190/m1h4-2ntb-92ga-ak32	Justification	
Selection bias:		
Is the sample representative of target sample?	No, just older adults from New York, predominately white and female.	
What percentage of selected individuals participated?	Can't tell	
Rating	Weak	
Study design:		
What was the study design?	Mixed methods	
Was the study described as randomised?	No	
If yes, was the method of randomisation described?	N/A	
If yes, was the method appropriate?	N/A	
Rating		Weak
Confounders:		
Were there important differences between the groups prior to the intervention?	Yes, some in community, some in nursing homes. Plus old old vs old	
If yes, indicate the percentage of relevant confounders that were controlled?	Can't tell	
Rating		Weak
Blinding:		
Was (were) the outcome assessor(s) aware of the intervention or exposure status of participants?	Yes	
Were the study participants aware of the research question?	Yes	

Rating:		Weak
Data collection methods:		
Were data collection tools shown to be valid?	Can't tell	
Were data collection tools shown to be reliable?	Can't tell	
Rating:		Weak
Withdrawals and drop-outs:		
Were withdrawals and drop-outs reported in terms of numbers and/or reasons per group?	N/A	
Indicate the percentage of participants completing the study. (If the percentage differs by groups, record the lowest)	Can't tell	
Rating:	Weak	
Intervention integrity:		
What percentage of participants received the allocated intervention or exposure of interest?	N/A	
Was the consistency of the intervention measured?	N/A	
Is it likely that subjects received an unintended intervention (contamination or co-intervention) that may influence the results?	N/A	
Rating:		N/A
Analyses:		
Indicate the unit of allocation	Individual	
Indicate the unit of analysis	Individual	
Are the statistical methods appropriate for the study design?	No	
Is the analysis performed by intervention allocation status (i.e. intention to treat) rather than the actual intervention received?	N/A	
Global rating:		Weak



Appendix E – Recruitment poster

This has been removed from the electronic copy

Appendix F - Interview schedule

As you know for this study we are interested in the objects people value. Can you show me some of your most personally valued objects? *<I will list out loud what objects the participant has indicated as their most valued objects so I have a record of this to refer back to. I could also ask what objects are if I am unfamiliar with any of the items>*

What was it like picking out these objects for today? Did it bring up any feelings? *<this could elicit intentions/thoughts/opinions/feelings>*

We might not have time to talk about all of these today, so is there an object that you particularly want to talk about? *<if they can't pick a particular object then I could choose one of the objects they have presented for today's interview and make a note of why I was drawn to choosing that particular object over others>*

What can you tell me about this object?

Why is it that you particularly value this object? *<If participant hasn't already indicated something about the value of the object>*

What is the most important part of having this object with you now? (Kroger and Adair, 2008)

What does this object mean to you? *<If participant has not already indicated something about the meaning of the object>*

How did you decide to bring this object with you when you moved?

Has your feelings/relationship to this object changed at all? Do you feel different about this object now? (after you have moved)

Do you talk about any of these valued objects with family or friends? Can you tell me if that means anything to you?/if that is important to you?

Do you talk about any of these valued objects with staff or carers? Can you tell me if that means anything to you?/if that is important to you?

Are there any objects from your old residence that you wish you brought with you in hindsight? *<prompt: how do you feel about that? What do you think about that?>*

What do you think this object says about you if anything at all?

If you were to give the object away who do you think you might give it to?

Just before we finish today I have a few background questions to ask. Would you mind telling me your age or what age group you belong to out of these groups *<show age categories on sheet of paper>*.

What is your ethnicity?

What is your marital status?

Do you have any children?

What would best describe your level of education?

And how long have you lived in this residence?

Thank you.

Prompt questions to ask about the objects if participant does not have much to say:

What does it feel like to be the owner of that particular object?

How does it feel when you look at this object?

What do you think about when you look at the object?

How does the object feel when you hold it?

How long have you owned this object?

Where else has this object existed?

“Where did you get this object” or “how did you come by this object”?

Appendix G – Ethical approval from the Salomons ethics committee

This has been removed from the electronic copy

Appendix H – information sheet

This has been removed from the electronic copy

CONSENT FORM

Title of Project: Meanings of objects

Name of Researcher: Daniel Stevens

Please initial each box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated 21.02.2017 (version 1) for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, without my medical care or legal rights being affected.

3. I agree to the interview being audio recorded

4. I agree that anonymous quotes from my interview may be used in published reports of the study findings

5. I understand that data collected during the study may be looked at by the lead supervisors Professor Paul Camic and Dr Rob Solway. I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data.

6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Name of Person taking consent: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Appendix J – Coding transcript

P1 20

D: So, how long have you lived here then?

P: Well it's coming up to 3 years *Time in residence*

D: and before here were you in your own home?

P: Yes I was in my own home in the Highlands of Scotland *former home / distance of last home*

D: Wow that's a big move

P: Yes well my husband was in the Navy so we're always on the move and for the last sort of 40 *time in last residence* years we were living in the highlands of Scotland. What happened was that, I had a lot of interests, *friends* lots of friends up there but I got to the situation where I couldn't drive any longer, and so I couldn't live there without a car because it's in the middle of nowhere. I have family in Wimbledon so I've moved to be nearer to them. *reason for move / age / disability / car*

D: So it was quite a big move then?

P: Quite a move yes, it has its advantages, I miss Scotland a lot, not only did I have a lot of friends but a lot of interests there but it's nice to see the family. *miss old home*

D: Yeah so bit of a trade-off, you miss your friends and some of your interests but you've got your family close by

P: yes they're very good, im a great grandmother *miss friends + activities*

D: Really wow so how many children do you have?

P: I have two sons *family*

D: and how many grand-kids?

P: two granddaughters and one great grand son

D: Wow, and they're all local?

P: All in Wimbledon, they're in Wimbledon and I've got another son who lives in Carlyle so we don't see so much of him *family further away*

D: Wow and, I mean looking around this room I imagine it's been a bit of a down size from your old house?

P: It's a very nice room, I'm lucky to have this room *quality of room*

D: It's a lovely room

P: I've got some of my own furniture you see *gratitude/appreciation*

D: So this furniture here that I'm sat amongst is yours is it?

P: It is mine yes. *use of self*

D: So we've got different sets of drawers and then, what would you call this a bureau?

P: A Desk

D: A desk right, and these are all things that came with you from your house in the highlands?

P: Yes, they're all nice. I'll show you a view if you like *picture is actually "a view"*

Nice / pleasing

D: Oh wow

P: that's the view from looking out when I was up there

picture provides former view from former home.

D: Oh you must miss that?

beauty, lovely, famed view, mountains, view, scenery,

P: Yes, yes it's beautiful, lovely. That's the Beaulieu River, famous river. And there's the mountains around here, so quite a change.

quite a change

D: Wow yeah it's beautiful. So this was the view from outside your house?

P: Yes this is my garden yes

My garden, representation of former garden.

D: Wow, your garden, its lovely.

Sharing our app

P: Yes it is isn't it? It's a very different place, much noisier it's very quiet up there and everybody knows everybody so it's quite different down here. But on the other hand its lovely seeing the family so it makes up for it.

social, knowing others.

association, agreement on lovely, difference, noise/quiet

different

D: So, when making that move, did you make the decisions to bring the things that you bought with you here? Did you decide to bring these objects with you?

Making decisions?

P: Yes, well I had to sell the house you see and my son, I have got two wonderful sons but the one who looks after my affairs, him and his wife are marvellous, they went up and sold the house and a lot of the family took a lot of the furniture and I got some as well which is rather nice but I didn't get much for it of course, that's the other problem with down here, you don't get very much for a house in Scotland compared to down here.

other comes after affairs.

they sold house. family took furniture

problem "down here"

cost of property size of property.

gratitude towards family "didn't get much" "I got some which was nice"

D: Well yeah that's true

P: It is an awful probably actually, my son, he's a musician, he plays in the philharmonic orchestra and the young ones, they can't afford to live in London, they have to go right out of their way and it's very difficult.

Thinking about challenges of family younger gen.

D: Yeah well I know what that's like. So, you sold your property in the highlands, your son helped you with that, you said some of the furniture went to family and some of it you've kept which is what we've got here

P: Yes and some was sold

sold - "didn't get much" undervalued?

D: Yeah, and you might not be able to answer this but how did you decide to keep these things that you've got with you, are these particularly important?

son chose objects

P: Well, he chose them, I had a lot of furniture up there and quite a lot of it went down south, some of the grandchildren took them

some to family

D: It's good that some of it could go to family. Are you able to say what items here are the most important to you at the moment?

P: Do you mean my own things?

D: Yeah, what do you value most out of your possessions here?

photos of people.

P: Well I value most the photographs of various people, various friends, that's my family up there and I've got another one to show you-

D: Oh look at that

produce Sunday to meet with him and I was chosen, it was people here so that was a nice thing wasn't it
honour / event / occasion

D: it's amazing to have that, what an honour. And what was it like?

P: He's very, very nice, in actual fact I had quite a lot in common with him because he knows something about the orchestra because he's a patron of the orchestra and when of my granddaughters works for him in his business in the community so we had quite a lot to talk about. So that's quite a treasure. *treasured /*

D: Oh fantastic, that is a treasure. That's something you've got since living here is it?

P: Yes that's quite recently, yes. *New object while in home.*

D: How do you feel looking at that now?

P: Well, it's nice to have yes.

D: So your photos are some of your most important objects to you at the moment?

P: Yes, I've got my family and lots of photos here you see, I keep them close to me *close / family self*

D: This is quite an artistic photo, is that a card or a photo?

P: That's a recent card

D: Oh okay *sad recent death / loss lots of loss*

age "it happens" stage. P: I've had, sadly over the last few months, I've lost three dear friends, they died, happens you see at our age, and that's been pretty awful for me actually *sad / grief.*

D: Yeah no I'm really sorry to hear that

P: That was one of them, that's another one, they've all been in great from and suddenly died, yes it's very sad. *sad sudden / shock*

D: That's very sad yes, especially if it was sudden, an unexpected event *mortality / stage*

P: Yes well we all have to go of course, but it's a shocker for the families. But that's something you have to expect at our age. *developmental stage.*

D: Yeah real shock. So you've got some photos up of those friend as well, were those something you had up anyway or-

P: Yes

D: I don't know if it's possible to answer this questions but what does it mean to you having your photos out? *nice to look think*

P: It's nice to look at them yes, nice to think about them

D: What sort of thoughts-

P: That's my son and his wife there *family*

D: In the big silver frame- yeah lovely photos

P: Yeah and I've got my grandchildren in lots of photos around the place *surrounded by family*

D: yeah I see them, quite young grandchildren, must be the great grandchildren are they? *family across*

P: Those are the great grandchildren yes, the grandchildren are sort of in their 30's *the generation*

D: yeah I see, well you've got a lovely family. Are there any other- *spouse*

P: That there is my husband's father, who's an admiral actually. And that there, that's my husband when I first met him. That is what he looked like on our 50th anniversary

D: Oh on the boat? *Age - that's what he looked like at this age*

P: That's on the boat at our anniversary yes, that was our 50 years anniversary, been together. *anniversary time*

D: 50 years, wow such a long time *these days / culture / change in the time / nostalgia*

P: Yes, it's very different these days, people don't seem to keep together like we used to, it's quite different, it's rather sad. *change for the worse.*

D: Yeah I think you don't often meet people who've been together 50 years, it's quite an achievement. And I've noticed you've got some other things that aren't photos. This brush and mirror, are these important objects to you up here? This silver brush and mirror? I'm guessing that's a kind of hand mirror?

P: It's just, it's not exactly special but it's nice to put flowers in. *just things'*

D: Ah yes this vase. But also, this brush and this mirror, are these-

P: Well they're useful, practical *useful/practical*

D: So they're just practical things. So there's not any other kind of physical items that you cherish in this room?

P: I don't know. Oh yes, if you look over there you'll see my dogs *pets*

D: Oh wow yeah this painting of your two dogs *painting of former pets*

P: Yes, my two dogs

D: In the highlands? *life stage / first time in my life / loss*

P: Yes, [inaudible]. This is the first time in my life I haven't had dogs

D: Is it?

P: Yes, so I do, I love that. A friend of mine painted it for me *love*

D: Yeah well it's a lovely painting. And do you think it's more important to you now because you don't have dogs or is it the same, was it always a painting you enjoyed?

P: I always enjoyed it. I got it as a present for my husband actually. *present from spouse / have not changed.*

D: And does anything come to mind when you look at it now, anything sort of pop into your head when you look at it? What do you think about?

P: I don't know. [Inaudible] I mean I often look at this room and think how lucky I am to be here, I'm very happy here. It's a very happy place. Very expensive and we're very lucky to be able to do it. *grateful* *lucky / fortunate*

D: So you feel quite lucky to be here and be able to live in this place.

"accepting"

happy gratitude

transcendence.

she is more accepting of where she is now

P: Yes, it's a very happy place we get to ^{being with others} get together a lot and do all sorts of things together, we do quizzes and we do other things and yes we've got a ^{activities} singing group, in fact, you heard about the singing group? ^{groups}

D: A little bit, did you just recently go out and sing?

P: Yes [inaudible] yes that was great fun.

D: Yeah it looks brilliant

P: Yes not everybody does it but I enjoy it you see.

D: So you do feel quite settled where you live now?

P: Yes ^{feel settled}

D: And when you first moved in what was it like? Was it the same, did you feel the same way or has that changed over time?

P: Well I knew a lot about ^{asked} field homes because in actual fact in the 40's we were living in Great Missenden and I actually started with friends to get another field home started there. So I've always known about them it's something I knew about before coming here. ^{history relationship with home values?}

D: How fantastic. I wasn't aware of Abbey Field's history until I came here and Pauline told me about how they're set up, it's a great story.

P: Yes well as a matter of fact, ^{history (values of the home) / friend} this is a friend here, he was in the army with the man who came out the army, to his amazement this friend of his had left him this big house, he didn't know him very well and was quite astonished and he noticed after the war, how many people were sleeping rough and he said well come knock at the door of my room and that's how Abbey Field started.

D: And so you knew a man with this connection. You seem connected with some quite important people it seems? ^{service life} ^{gender}

^{rh/ style/ considering/ verb} P: Well, it's quite special yeah. I find my service life very interesting you know because the men enjoy it so much, and the wives keep together and look after one another, because they go to sea you see and you're left on your own. And there's children you see, my husband went to sea for a year and I had to look after them on my own. ^{mother / identity / biography}

D: That must have been hard work?

P: They all helped one another, all the same you see.

D: Just going to look at my questions again. Oh yeah, I was going to ask whether you think any of these objects say anything about you as a person.

P: Me as a person?

D: Yeah do any of your things say anything about you?

P: Do you think they did? Just my things. They just remind me of my life. ^{remind / good quote}

D: Yeah remind you of life and being in the service, being from a family in the service, seems like it comes across as quite important and family seems quite important to you and your dogs of course as well.

P: Yes, that's right.

Telephone interview with [redacted]

I: that's on now, pop that there between us, um and you were just saying, we were just talking about you've just moved to this room.

P: Yep ,well I've only lived in this home since mid July of last year

Commented [D1]: Recency of move

I: Yeah

P: and I moved in rather rapidly because [redacted] and me she had a very nice room, just newly decorated and it was upstairs and it really was a lovely room um but it had one problem and that is, I walk with a walker, and in order for me to get out of that place I had to wait for somebody coming either who could help me get either down two steps or up two steps depending upon whether I was going or coming back and um I just and then from there I had quite a long walk to any of the places where I am designated to go for my meals

Commented [D2]: Rapidness of moving

Commented [D3]: Care home manager

Commented [D4]: Quality of room

Commented [D5]: Reason for moving quickly. Niceness of room

Commented [D6]: Problem of room

Commented [D7]: Accessibility/also walker is an object

Commented [D8]: Need help

Commented [D9]: accessibility

Commented [D10]: "designated"

Commented [D11]: Reference to ageing/death?

Commented [D12]: Laughing, not sombre about age

Commented [D13]: Getting older/awareness of mortality

Commented [D14]: accessibility

Commented [D15]: recency of move

Commented [D16]: Objects do not yet have their place/my way

Dan: I see yeah

P: So I I got really fed up with it and Im not getting any younger [laughs]

Dan: [laughs]

P: Uh I've just moved, she found another room on the ground floor which will be much easier for me to access and so here I am

Dan: And that's this room here? We're in?

P: Yes that's this room here and I've just literally, just today, moved, so everything is stuffed in where it will go, rather than being arranged exactly the way I want it.

Commented [D17]: Too many?

Dan: No but I mean, for a conversation about objects this seems quite timely because you've obviously had to think about all the objects you wanted to bring...

P: A lot of objects [laughs]

Dan: and you've got a lot of objects here with you and um and just looking around the room would you be able to say which or what objects is of most importance to you at this time?

P: Ooh... well uhh. I I I don't know that I could actually because I've got such a lot of things

Commented [D18]: Not sure what is of most importance due to so many things/owning many things

Dan: Yeah

P: Um, and I'm quite attached to all of them

Commented [D19]: Attachment/everything is important

Dan: Yeah

P: they you see I've worked overseas and so I collected all sorts of things there and uh added to the things I've collected since that in in in ah in queue ya

Commented [D20]: No specific object named, but having objects related to when she worked overseas was important...

Dan: So some of the things here today are from your times when you were working overseas?

Commented [D21]: Worked overseas/collecting

P: Yes, oh absolutely, um I I..... I'm going to try... well that chair for instances that you are sitting on

Dan: Yeah

Appendix K – example of coding and memos in Microsoft excel

	B	C	D	E
1	<p>Quote</p> <p>[So these were other things that were sort of in the hotel as you grew up?] Yeah there was a big display cabinet and where it was usually a lounge but sometimes it was a dining room but these things were always displayed on it and you know this was in one of the bedrooms and this was in the display cabinet and the two little fellas there with that the tiny blowing his horn there but its been chopped off [redacted] got the blame for the rifle . Don got the blame for most things because it was mostly [redacted] that did them</p> <p>M: No, I'm not as attached F: You say that... M: I'm not as attached to various things. Actually that's not true, cancel that comment altogether. F: You are! M: What am I attached to? F: You go and open those drawers in your desk M: Well yes lots stuff</p>	<p>open codes</p> <p>display/remembering/former home/memory/storytelling/childhood/broken objects kept</p> <p>attachment/place/</p>	<p>Potential selective codes</p> <p>relationship/remembering</p> <p>attachment</p>	<p>memos</p> <p>He has kept broken objects (makes me think of B w away vase and got it back broken)/there is a relationship with this object, him getting blamed for breaking it...</p> <p>He initially says he isn't attached to objects, and then he says he is attached to himself and says cancel that comment. His wife points out he is attached to things and suggest the drawer in his desk which possibly hold objects he is attached to.</p>
35	<p>Well, I'm 85 now as I say, when I was brought up in the war and in those days 1939, 1945 the parents had not a lot of control on their kids because fathers were away at war or if they were, my father was in the first world war so he was too old for the second world war but it did some war work so didn't see a lot of him, it's my mother that we saw a lot of. My father never did anything in the home so consequently it was never a very homey home,</p> <p>[And I imagine she was quite proud when she finished?] Absolutely, we had them framed professionally. I think her daughter might have them when I go but they're staying where they are for now. There are various others dotted about but not as nice as those.</p>	<p>War/history/upbringing/values/family/biography</p> <p>Pride/leaving to daughter/not giving up yet</p>	<p>life story/history/the past</p> <p>remembering/qualities spouse's objects</p>	<p>He is making the point here that his experiences growing up in the war instilled values around home ownership and maintenance. The home he is provided context for why he is the way he is also links to identity in a way</p> <p>He says here "they're staying where they are for now" he wasn't ready to give these up. They are important</p>
37	<p>[The house that you shared with your husband?] No, the one that I had when he'd died. [Yeah, so losing the house, seems like that was a real...] Yes, it was something that I looked forward to for years, and the previous one that I shared with him, it was very hard, it was an older house, a lot of work needed doing to it. So I was just dying to get there and then this happened.</p>	<p>transition/loss/loss of a future due to poor health/life review</p>	<p>loss</p>	<p>Her perfect home was the one she was looking for in after her husband died. Her poor health meant she couldn't have this future. This is really disappointing and sad</p>
38	<p>[So this this is a time of your life where actually you had a lot of fun as well?] It's like my dad in the war you know this is sort of the big thing that happened in my life really By then we'd moved into a house together then and then so it's a bringing together if you like, of when we moved there, of some of your things and some of my things.</p>	<p>war/comparison with father/family/life "a bringing together"/identity as couple/collective identity/making decisions</p>	<p>Link to the past</p> <p>making decisions</p>	<p>Here [redacted] compares his time working as a steward while going away for war. He thinks of this period as the best interesting this idea of coming together. Making decisions merging objects.</p>
39	<p>D: Has that happened often in your experience? Can you think of a particular time when that's happened? P: I've known it happen on four or five occasions where there's been something and it's quite hard to actually ever find out what it was because you don't want to ask the family in case it's a dark secret within the family or a brother that's been lost so there's all sorts of reasons and it's quite hard sometimes but you could get somebody with a dementia who has a lucid period of time and will say to you "that belonged to my grandmother and she disliked me" and so you say "well say we put it away so you don't have to look at it?" So you can put it away and you know the reason for that but it's hard to ask the family because you could be stirring up old wounds and you don't really want to do that.</p>	<p>painful memories/significance/associations</p>	<p>emotions</p>	<p>interesting/some objects may be associated with people's memories, and care staff will support people with people's objects out of site</p>
71	<p>Especially when you are growing up. And then years later quite recently um 2002, my step-mother died, by that time she was living in a sheltered accommodation flat and it was up to me deal with clearing everything out</p>	<p>ageing/loss/death/sheltered accommodation (not home)/transition/managing objects of others/making decisions about objects</p>	<p>decision making</p>	<p>It might be interesting to include making decisions about others. There is a generational process, clearing objects, preparing for the next gen to clear out your house</p>
72	<p>I already had that y'know it wasn't part the button box experience at all because I already had that chair and had it for some time</p>	<p>age/time/length of ownership</p>	<p>importance</p>	<p>It's separate from the button box experience. The chair is different because it didn't have a re-discovery element</p>
73	<p>now I don't even own a pan or a knife and fork, they've all gone.</p>	<p>loss/ownership/life stage/attachment/life review</p>	<p>loss</p>	<p>I've put life stage, as there seems to be something interesting about finding one's self at a stage where they no longer have things and that being significant]</p>
74	<p>I should do something about recording in photographs y'know different stages of my life really</p>	<p>life stages/transitions/giving up objects/making decisions about objects</p>	<p>giving up objects/decision making/strategy</p>	<p>I've still got the photographs if I do that/strategies</p>
75	<p>[Like a sort of album which tracks your journey?] It would be good yeah as if I've got to get rid of a lot of stuff than I've still got the photographs if I do that</p>	<p>former garden/place/loss/difference/representation/compromise/compensation</p>	<p>Transition/adjustment/reflection</p>	<p>I've written compromise here, as she says that while her old home, seeing the family makes up for it. Making compensation?</p>
76	<p>[So this was the view from outside your house?] Yes this is my garden yes [Wow, your garden, its lovely.] Yes it isn't it? It's a very different place, much noisier it's very quiet up there and everybody knows everybody so it's quite different down here. But on the other hand its lovely seeing the family so it makes up for it.</p>	<td> </td> <td> </td>		
77	<p>Quote</p> <p>[It sounds like you challenge yourself in quite a few different ways?] I do. I'm never stopping, I mean I'm looking round and this grass now, I should have cut that yesterday when the sun was out but probably when you've gone, I might have a go. Takes about an hour to do it.</p> <p>[Is there anything you've got with you now that is so important that you'd want to make sure that it goes to someone else in the future?] No nothing like that here</p>	<p>open codes</p> <p>Staying active/never stopping/challenge</p> <p>importance/inheritance/legacy/here/loss</p>	<p>Potential selective codes</p> <p>life stage?</p> <p>legacy/loss</p>	<p>memos</p> <p>Not sure what this code is. Is there something about personality? Or is this about life stage</p> <p>Nothing like that here... again I feel like she is not sure about the place.</p>
95	<p>[D: Does she still have that?] F: No when she moved to The [redacted] I had to keep it. M: Because she just wouldn't have had the space.</p>	<p>loss/another loss/giving up objects/</p>	<p>giving up objects/loss</p>	<p>Now the mother no longer has the hat. She has moved into a nursing home and it was decided there wasn't the space for it</p>
96	<p>P: Yeah and they also get to the point where I knew with one lady she didn't actually want to go into the room and it took the staff probably a week to try and find out what it was about the room she didn't like and it turned out to be something as simple as a vase and that was quite shocking because you think a vase is a vase. D: Yeah feels like it would be quite a neutral item P: Absolutely either you're going to like it or you're not you know but it was quite deep and [she was] quite passionate about it. So the vase went and the room was fine. It was almost like it had been exorcised, does that make sense?</p>	<p>powerful association/transition quality of object/like it/dispute over ownership/transition/life stage/making decisions about objects</p>	<p>emotion/strong aversive reaction</p> <p>decision making</p>	<p>object agency... Object causing arguments - object having agency?</p>
97	<p>M: It was sculpted by a relatively well known Belgian sculptress called Maria Copins and it was given to us, well to my ex-wife and I, and I just happened to like it, and it was one of the few things I insisted on taking with me when I divorced. That caused a certain amount of angst ridden arguments, but I like it!</p>			
98	<p>D: And how important is it to have the family photos on display as well? P: Yeah very. That has become more important since I lost my wife</p>	<p>loss/significance of objects</p>	<p>loss/significance</p>	<p>object has become more important since loss of wife</p>
99	<p>P: Anyway, yeah, so when I say she's been teaching me it's just that you know, it's just so clear, I just felt, you know the beingness and as I say, in a way I fell in love with her and so yeah I mean I think she was the main reason I could actually accept being here really, I mean also in fact the through room's important, because I really like through-rooms but I haven't really realised until this was my main home, or you know my home as such, how dark it was. I mean the reason I like through-</p>			
100				

06/04/2017

Some thoughts following my interview with **Eleanor**. **Eleanor** had just happened to move rooms within the care home on the day I was visiting. The manager said this was against her and other staff member's advice due to the room being much smaller than her former room. The size of rooms seemed like an important issue in the care home as there was some variety in room size which meant there was a degree of inequality amongst residents. According to the manager **Eleanor** also still owns a home and so still has objects in her other residence and can switch things between the care home residence and her former home. **Eleanor** talked about having little family and was drawn to the aesthetic aspects of the objects around her. She and the staff spoke about her room being messy or chaotic due to the recent room swap, but actually my sense was it wasn't too bad, all the little rooms seemed to me a bit cluttered with resident's belongings due to how small they all were. **Eleanor** came across as slightly irritable or defensive at times and I think talking about her objects had been more emotional than she expected.

07/04/2017

The interview starts a bit awkwardly and **Sharon** seems quite depressed about her current circumstances. She initially comes across as a bit resentful of having to have moved from **place** to **place**. At first she struggles to talk about any valued objects, and talks about how little control or choice she had over her move and about what items to bring. This seemed very important. She reluctantly talks about her frog objects, but I wonder if this is something about how she relates to others and her family. It feels like **Sharon** has lost so much and her room with the few bits of frog paraphernalia seem quite lacking in comparison to the loss of her house (which she moved into after her husband died and which seemed to me like a place where she got to experience herself as an independent woman for the first time in her life who could finally have things her own way). After we turned off the recorder **Sharon** notes that she forgot to mention a very important object which was the loss of her car. She said how she misses having her car and showed me her "new" car which was an electric mobility scooter which she obviously valued but said something to the effect of that it can be a bit daunting taking the scooter out. I was really struck by a sense of loss when talking so **Sharon**. Loss of former life and home, loss of objects from former life, loss of health, and loss of independence.

07/04/2017

It seemed to me that it might be a bit difficult for **Bridget** to think about the past. My impression was she wanted to stay quite present focused in the interview. Bridget wanted to emphasise how she was content with her current place in the care home and had no complaints or criticisms relating to her current circumstances. It felt to me as if she was almost trying to convince herself that she was content with her circumstances and I was reminded of some of the things I have read about ageing and life-review. I wonder if this is a part of the adjustment to this transition in to care home involves coming to terms with the changes and a way of doing this might be focusing on the positives in the situation. In terms of objects, she showed me a recent photo that she had prominently on display of her meeting someone from the royal family. This was related to a recent event at the care home, and I wonder if displaying this object which relates to a recent positive experience helps her focus on the positives and adjust to her new residence.

04/05/2017

While transcribing. I've noticed now a few people I have interviewed are bringing up stories of having had to manage or think about the possessions of their older relatives who had died. There is a bit of a story of them having to manage their older relatives' estates... this can mean some people are re-acquainted with objects that they haven't seen themselves since they lived at home, and it's interesting because these objects that had not been important or even thought about them for many years have suddenly become valued again. Is it just because their parents have died and there is a connection there, or is it other things like having a link to a previous life period (and is this more significant if you are older?). I also wonder if it is memories, or if the object is symbolic of the past, as sometimes it seems like memories are not necessarily linked to an object even though there is something about the object coming from the past. Is there anything written about having objects from early life become more important in later life? I am sure there is stuff about objects providing an anchor to childhood. Do objects link you back across the life span?

18/05/2017

Just finished interviewing **Peter**. This was a bit of a confusing interview as **Peter** would flip-flop on whether he thought objects were important. At first he seemed intent on making a point that objects are 'just things' and that he

is fairly indifferent about them. But then he went on to talk about how painful it would be if he had to give up his objects. I think he sort of relaxed into the interview and maybe at first he was being a bit macho or something? I've noticed that when I go through the study information and consent forms and discuss with participants that talking about objects can sometimes be an emotional subject people are quick to dismiss that. It's almost they think the idea of being emotional about objects is silly and that they don't think it is very likely that it will apply to them. But in practice people realise they are more attached to their objects than they realise. **Peter** said something interesting at the end of our interview about now realising objects mean a lot to him. It was like he came to the realisation while we were talking. I am glad he eventually relaxed a bit during the interview. The interview mostly took place in his conservatory and I wonder now if that was a way of **Peter** keeping things feeling safe for him. Then after he relaxed and starting talking about things he cared about and he showed me some really lovely framed needlework hanging up in his home that had been created by his late wife. It felt like a real privilege to be let inside his home and see these objects, and I am just thinking now that the whole letting me into his house to see these objects may have been symbolic of him letting his defences down and showing me some things that actually leave him potentially emotionally vulnerable.

On a related note, I've been very aware of how unusual it is to have a researcher come into your home to talk about your valued possessions. Every time I start having these conversations with people I really worry about coming across like some sort of con-man that is secretly trying to gain access to their home and exploit them. However, I am not sure if it linked, but everyone who has agreed to take part so far has been a person who lives alone and perhaps doesn't get a lot of company.

03/03/2018

Where is identity? Where is loss? Where is family

My reading has been influencing my thinking, I keep expecting a category related to objects and identity or identity processes, and I have open coded this at times when I have seen something in the data which relates to identity. However, as I combine all these codes they don't seem to be coming together, and nearly all of them make more sense to go under something else. I think what I have often coded as identity is actually something someone has said when they are telling a story related to one of their objects which I have felt says something about their identity, or describes things they have done as a person. This clearly sits within memory which comes together much better as a category when reviewing all the codes in this area.

31/03/2018

Considering paper about alexithymia and objects... Is this saying that those who aren't good at identifying their emotions favour objects related with negative emotions? If so, then this could be interesting to talk about. It doesn't immediately make sense to me in terms of the anecdote about the lady with dementia and the aversion to her vase. But is it be linked to those who were ambivalent about their relationship with objects? They might be described as alexithymic, as the people I am thinking of did not seem to have a lot of emotional reciprocity with me when I met with them, and talked about their objects not being overly emotionally significant, while then later going on to describe some of their objects as emotionally significant... I think maybe Phenice says somewhere about objects being used as a type of language, or a way of communicating something without words which might relate to this stuff as well.

04/04/2018

Why is loss painful, what is it important psychologically? It separates people from the object and the things they valued about that object (properties, emotions, memory, connection, legacy). It also potentially separates them from being able to make use of the object in relation to adjustment and introspection processes following a transition.

07/03/2018

Emotions were also present when it came to conversations about a loss of objects. When people had to give up their valued objects, or had lost them in the process of transition (for example a relative unknowingly giving up an object on their behalf) people described sad painful feelings. Some people also described the idea of giving up their objects quite a painful thought. However there was two participants who wanted to emphasise that their objects were not overly important to them. These two participants had a uniqueness to them. One was moving on the day she was interviewed, and was in the process of deciding which objects to give up. The other, had recently been through the process of trialling a stay in a nursing home, and deciding it wasn't for him. He spoke generally about objects not being important to him, but also described how he would have been heartbroken if he had to move to the nursing

home as it would have meant giving up possessions. The way these two participants went back and forth on the importance of objects may have been related to a process of protecting themselves from the potential painful reality of having to lose some of their objects (and the broader meaning of that loss i.e. Sharon and Eleanor). In terms of psychological processes I wonder if we are looking at cognitive dissonance?

Appendix M - Audit trail: categories, codes, and example quotes for early iteration of the analysis

Category	Sub-category	Open codes	Quotes
Attachment to objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Importance • Attachment to objects • No attachment to objects 	emphasis	I wouldn't say objects, cause I don't put a lot of emphasis on, when you say objects do you mean my possessions like my shed and my lawnmowers and my car... what I put a lot of emphasis on is my health.
		Important	Oh and the house is very important to me; that it's kept in good working order, maintained.
		Prized	That is another of my, if you like, prize possessions
		Important	Very important, very. I've just had new blinds fitted here, because I thought that will enhance it.
		"get rid"/heart breaking/accumulated/attachment	No. I would have had to get rid of everything and that would've broken my heart because I've accumulated things over the past, as you do
		Importance of object/attachment	it's not so much objects like as we said, lawnmowers and things, it's more up here really.
		Cherish/attachment/importance	[But I'm interested in what you said there that it would've broken your heart to get rid of everything?] Oh it would. Yeah it would. [Can you say anything more about that?] Because I bought it new in the past and you'd get it next to nothing, you'd have to practically give it away now and that's not my style. I cherish them without realising it. I mean it's there and I use it, it's there

			when I want to use it.
		Significance of objects	Well you may have seen the other side of the coin, some people may say to you about ‘oh my possessions, I love my possessions’ I’m not like that, I am talking about mental things and things to do.
		Importance of object/attachment	I think her daughter might have them when I go but they’re staying where they are for now.
		Not easy giving up stuff	I couldn’t bring I had a lot of stuff and I had to give quite a lot of it up [Yeah that must have been quite difficult?] Well it wasn’t easy
		Importance	well I think I probably think rather less of them than I might’ve done um especially now when I have got such a small space to display them in there perhaps less important I’ve grown to think there are of less importance then I thought they were originally
		“only things”/importance	I think yes there is a certain amount of thought that is naturally given to ones belongings but I wouldn’t want to be in a situation where Im making it a big hoo haw about my belongings I mean they are only things after all and uh eventually they pass on to somebody else or be destroyed or lost or whatever so I don’t think it’s a good idea to put too much importance on them
Identity	• Biography/history	History/biography/“the war”	I was brought up in the war

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Values • Reference to self • Identity • Ageing • Work 		
		Values about home ownership	That's always been the drive-without knowing about it- I think that that's been the driving force behind me because when I first got married, straight away buy a house. Why? I don't know why, but that's just the way it was, just the way you thought, must buy a house and we did.
		Self/identity "is this me"	What I found was, I was sitting opposite a hundred year old person, they're still with it but I thought- well is this me?
		Identity/ageing	these elderly people
		Self/personality/identity	[So it's quite a nice package, but it just didn't fit your lifestyle?] Didn't fit me. I don't know about my lifestyle, I think my personality, maybe I'm a lone animal.
		Self	[And why is it so important?] Because they're mine.
		Self	Why? I don't know why it's important, because it's in me.
		Values	I think that's embedded into me that I must save so I do
		Work/identity	We used to have a barn as well so I used to work in there, I made a table for the outside which is still going strong, a picnic table a good one.
		Self	I had never analysed what I would call personal, but now I have analysed it, now I

			understand me a bit more. That's it's not the objects that you see, it's something else that keeps me going that I've got an interest in. I use these mechanical things to achieve what I want, but that's all I'm just using them.
		Biography/work/identity	I lived in Dehli, but I travelled all over because I had to visit various activities going on in different parts of the country
		Self	It's gonna take quite a long time before I get myself properly sorted out
		Identity	I might do to one of the other inmates
		Self	uh well nothing in particular but um its I like the style and that um means quite a lot to me
		Self	rather than being arranged exactly the way I want it.
Home		Home/maintaining home	Oh and the house is very important to me; that it's kept in good working order, maintained.
		Home/security/place of my own	Yeah it's mine, it's quiet, it's secluded, it's secure and so I'm very happy with that. I could easily close that front door and live on my own.
		Quality of space	Well there was a wooden, long- I don't know what you'd call it- you could lie on and wooden chairs that had bit gone past their sell by date and there wasn't a mat down either and this big table was over there and it was dominating the place, it still does really, but I might get rid of this you see, that's to enhance it
		Former home	We were in a big house in West

			Sussex in those days which had a swimming pool, it had a 3 quarters of an acre of ground, big lawns and things like that. I had a big vegetable plot
		Home ownership	So we put a bit of money in the bank, bought this place, furnished it, cause it was brand new when we bought it.
		Care home	See those people living in care homes, as I've described, you haven't got any personal possessions, I don't think you have anyway
		Quality of room	a very nice room, just newly decorated
		Quality of room/accessibility	in order for me to get out of that place I had to wait for somebody coming either who could help me get either down two steps or up two steps depending upon whether I was going or coming back and um I just and then from there I had quite a long walk to any of the places where I am designated to go for my meals. I got really fed up with it
		Quality of room/accessibility	I've just moved, she found another room on the ground floor which will be much easier for me to access and so here I am
		Home	I had several bits of blue pottery when I lived at home but I had to give them up
		Quality of room/size of room	it's um it's quite compared with the one I moved in to when I first came it's quite small
		Former home	A three bedroomed little uh a little terrace uh two story house with uh three bedrooms and a

			garden and everything and I lived there for 30 years
Giving up objects/making decisions about objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Giving up objects • Making decisions about objects • Leaving objects behind 	Giving up objects/making decisions/Enhancing/changing the material room	Well there was a wooden, long- I don't know what you'd call it- you could lie on and wooden chairs that had gone past their sell by date and there wasn't a mat down either and this big table was over there and it was dominating the place, it still does really, but I might get rid of this you see, that's to enhance it
		changing the material room	There was a picture up there but I put mirrors on the wall and decorations and things like that, so I like to update the place if you like, which I have done. In the rest of the place, I've updated the dining room that used to be the dining room that but now I've changed that, I've made that into a bed and then I put the dining at the front because there's more light.
		Cleaned out/taken away	Am I really at that stage where I want to have my meals made out and my cottage home cleaned out and no DIY to do, nothing to do. So they'd taken everything away from you.
		Giving up activities	no cutting grass and things like that to occupy my mind
		Giving up objects/leaving objects/making decisions	[Thinking about objects, hypothetically, if you had moved there, what things would you have taken?] Nothing. Perhaps my radio, for what it's worth. In fact, I think they had radios there, and televisions of course.

		Giving up/giving away/value of object/making decisions	[But I'm interested in what you said there that it would've broken your heart to get rid of everything?] Oh it would. Yeah it would. [Can you say anything more about that?] Because I bought it new in the past and you'd get it next to nothing, you'd have to practically give it away now and that's not my style.
		Giving up objects	I had several bits of blue pottery when I lived at home but I had to give them up, I thought if I brought one with me that would be something, but I couldn't bring I had a lot of stuff and I had to give quite a lot of it up
		Giving up objects/making decisions	If you collect, that's what happens I mean I could of kept it but it would have been quite a bit of clutter really.
		Making decisions/giving up objects	[how do you go about deciding what to keep and what not to keep?] Well I'm thinking the same thing. How do I choose and I don't know, so I can't tell you yet
		Leaving behind	[were there any things that you left behind that you wished you hadn't?] Oh quite a lot um an umbrella
		Making decisions/losing objects/power	Well I had somebody helping me and she thought oh well she's never going to need an umbrella any more I'll just get rid of all her umbrellas and um did
		Making decisions/power	Yes I have a friend a very good friend and uh I really shouldn't complain about her but she has

			power of attorney and she made the decision about my umbrellas yup
Legacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passing on • Giving up • Leaving behind • Future of objects 	Passing on/legacy	Yeah, I save money and I don't squander it. I got two boys and I really want to leave whatever I've got to them.
		Passing on/legacy	My first wife sold the house and moved on to somewhere but the boys never got anything from that, they never said anything but it just wasn't on. So I think they're going to get something this time, so they're going to get half this bungalow.
		Passing on/legacy	Because they're mine. The two boys are my children and I want to make sure that they have money when I go, it won't make them secure but it'll give them something.
		Legacy	Why? I don't know why it's important, because it's in me. I don't spend money and I want it to go to them simply because where else? That's why it's important.
		Legacy/helping family/leaving behind/"more than I ever had" Gerotranscendence	They're my boys, my possessions. And they've got children of their own as well so if they want to spend the money I leave them on holidays or whatever or ones in America so if they want to fly over to see their friends or whatever then they've got this money at the back of them. It's not a fortune but it's something, it's more than I ever had.

		Passing on/legacy	I think her daughter might have them when I go but they're staying where they are for now.
		Passing on/legacy	[have you thought about the future of any of these objects?] Well no I can't say I have but actually now that you've mentioned it I'd better do a little thinking so that when I'm gone if there's anything that I want passed on to anybody in particular that will be what happens/but I haven't thought about that yet
		Pass on/future of objects	I mean they are only things after all and uh eventually they pass on to somebody else or be destroyed or lost or whatever
Ageing/Mortality/Health	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ageing • Health • Mortality • Life stage 	Health	I put a lot of emphasis on is my health. Health, wealth and wellbeing, that's the emphasis.
		Age/ageing	I was sitting opposite a hundred year old person, they're still with it but I thought- well is this me?
		Age	living with these elderly people
		Mortality/death	when my wife was alive
		Health/support/looked after	I had an infection my colon, something to do with diverticulitis so she put me on two lots of antibiotics and after a week it was cleared up, so then I'm back at cardiac. But that was a period I didn't really like, being ill cause I've got no one to look after me if I am ill
		Health/support	if I needed someone I could pay somebody to come in and you

			always get people like that who'll help you out.
		Mortality/death	because I've been married twice, both of them died
		Mortality/death	I mean when I go they'll just sell this lot of course
		Mortality/death	I know that when my wife was alive we used to go
		Ageing	and Im not getting any younger
		Age	I will be 90 this year
		Surviving family/mortality	I have very few family left
Remembering/memories	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The past • Biography • Former home • Remembering spouse • Remembering former objects • Remembering events 	Biography/history/past	I was brought up in the war and in those days 1939, 1945 the parents had not a lot of control on their kids because fathers were away at war or if they were, my father was in the first world war so he was too old for the second world war but it did some war work so didn't see a lot of him, it's my mother that we saw a lot of.
		The past	DIY stuff in those days was non-existent and although people did own their own homes, we never did
		Remembering former home	We were in a big house in West Sussex in those days which had a swimming pool, it had a 3 quarters of an acre of ground, big lawns and things like that. I had a big vegetable plot
		The past/previous life stage	Back when I was 21, I remember I used to say "I've got nothing" I had no savings, no money, no nothing.
		The past	I was working, in those days, everybody worked, no such thing as being out of work then. It paid obviously the going rate

			at the time which you'd probably call the minimum wage today so it didn't give you scope to save anything
		Remembering spouse	We were quite a pair together. No, she used to like her hobbies, which is what they call cross-stitch and there's quite a lot of examples around the house of her handy-work, she was very clever.
		Remembering spouse	she took great pains, she used to sit down anywhere and the needle would come out, her eyesight was fantastic.
		Remembering event	I mean the poppy is something that um I watched all y'know the year when they had the poppies they made all the poppies for the commemoration thing
		Remembering former home	A three bedroomed little uh a little terrace uh two story house with uh three bedrooms and a garden and everything and I lived there for 30 years
Qualities and functions of objects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help/support/assist • Aesthetic/style/design • Skill/intricacy/interesting • Self-made/made by spouse/handmade • Origin/culture/history/symbol • Comfort • Intrinsic value • Subjective value • For others 	Qualities of home/quiet/secluded/secure	[speaking about house] Yeah it's mine, it's quiet, it's secluded, it's secure and so I'm very happy with that. I could easily close that front door and live on my own.
		"mechanical helps/help/support	[your shed, your lawnmower...] ...my car I

			mentioned, and I've got other mechanical 'helps' shall we say /I've got a machine for doing that /
		Time/amount of time to create object/skill/intricacy	One of them took her twelve years to do, my fair lady, twelve years.
		"work of art"/skill/spouse's creation	They were a work of art, she was really clever that way.
		Material/"work of art"/design/self-made	Mahogany wood. It was quite a work of art and I just made up the design as I went along.
		To achieve/function	I use these mechanical things to achieve what I want, but that's all I'm just using them.
		Support/assistance	I walk with a walker
		Origin	that chair for instance that you are sitting on was made in india
		Handmade/style/aesthetic/design/material	It's handmade and it's modern, it's not old, but it's using old styles, like the carving on the um, on the uh, yeah and the type of the way the seat is made of this woven cord
		Support/assistance/disability/health	I have a special cushion/anyway I have a special cushion because I had to have my hip replaced and it I was recommended to sit on a sort of slope
		Comfort	but when it comes to genuine comfort I've got this chair [laughs] which is one I bought recently for a specialist so it um it's y'know it's really comfortable for me.
		Style/aesthetic	I like the style and that um means quite a lot to me
		Function/utility/a place for visitors	I only use it when I am sitting at the desk or when people come to visit me like you

		Design/origin/culture/	it was one sort of special one that they'd um y'see its based on that string work from which the seat is made is typical of what they using in india for uh making a bed / But they um they sleep on fairly low beds and they the support the not the mattress but what they actually sleep on is that/ and of course uh it is very its quite cool, which is an important thing in a very hot country
		Colour/interesting	that blue pot there is interesting
		History/culture/colour/design	anyway but the blue pot it's standing in is a bit of genuine pottery from india/and there's a part of india where they make a lot of that particular type of pottery/so that's an example of that
		Aesthetic/style/design	I had two or three umbrellas which were particularly nice and neat
		Intrinsic value/value	well there's things that have intrinsic value things that are made of silver and so on and um things which have value because of where you bought them like the blue vase and um the blue vase cost me very very little

Appendix N. Audit trail: Early iteration of model

Categories	Sub-categories
Connecting	Connection to memories
This might not be a category, but a relationship to multiple sub-categories	Connection to life stages
	Connection to a lost loved one
	Connection to others (living)
	Function to connect with others (this might go under functions)
Object divestment	Giving up objects:
	- Deciding to give up objects
	- Someone else deciding to give up objects
	- Strategies to manage giving up objects, or to avoid giving up objects
	o Storage
	o Keeping hold of an item which represents former collect (e.g. hat, or one piece of pottery)
	Losing objects
	Giving away objects (also under legacy)
Future	Giving away objects (legacy)
This category may be a sub category under life review	- Have thought about (thinking about the future?)
	- Have not thought about (not thinking about the future?)
	Plans for objects (in lifetime)
	- Thinking about what objects to take to nursing home
	- Thinking about ways to find a place for objects in current residence
Attachment/importance	
	Objects people described as important, or that they are attached to for one reason or another (or for no reason they can tell)
	The reasons objects are valued vary, and I still need to go through the data, but they will overlap with: the past, connection to an other, a gift or inherited, relates to a memory, relates to a time of life... still need to go through this section
Memory	Memory
	Remembering
	Storytelling
	Reminder
Object characteristics	Design
	Aesthetic
	Colour
	Origin
	Age
Life review	Reflecting on the past (memories, stories)
Life review is important to people as they get older,	Reflecting on the present (adjusting, connecting,

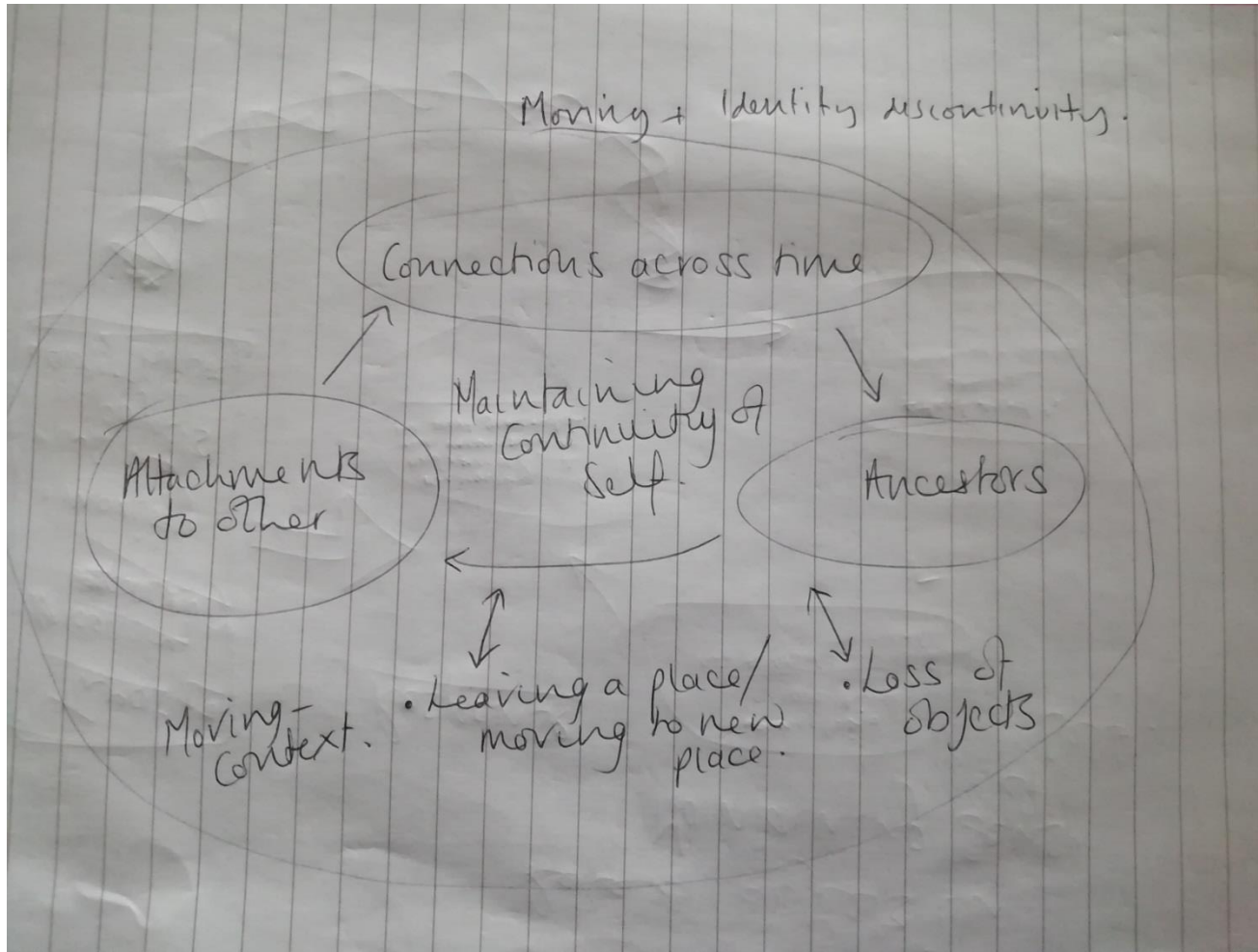
and in the face of transitions in health, moving to a new home, and losing close loved ones. This prompts reflection on the past, the present, and thoughts about the future. Objects are related to these processes.	identity?)
	Thinking about the future (legacy, giving away objects/trying to get objects out)
	Participants have spoken about their relationship with objects have changed due to their circumstance. They have also reflected how they are more appreciative or grateful about some of the things in their life, or in their past.
	There have also been reflection on identity such as; is this who I am?

Appendix O - Experimenting with relationships between categories



memo: Display objects, even though we don't consciously share them with others

Appendix P - Precursor to final model



Role of objects in Maintaining Sense of Self.

Threat to
identity
continuity

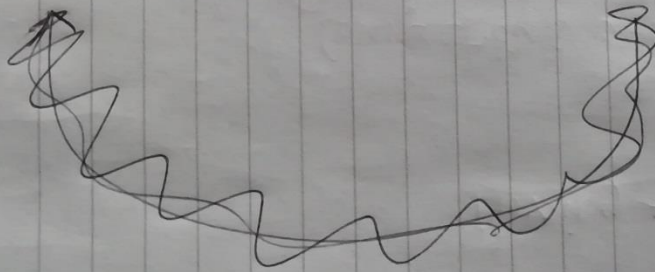
- moving
- losing objects
- object future?

Response

connecting
across time
link to literature on reminiscence
+ identity

preserving self
and ancestors in
the memories of
the next generation

Attachment to
others
attachment + identity



Appendix Q - Feedback Report to Ethics Panel

This has been removed from the electronic copy

Appendix R - feedback summary for ethics panel and R&D committee

Study title: Valued material objects and older adult residential transition

Introduction: Moving house later in life can be a major transition. Some studies have identified valued objects may be important to this process however the significance of objects is not well understood and related psychological theory is limited. As such, the present study aimed to build an explanatory model for the significance of valued objects to older adults in the context of a residential transition.

Method: 11 older adults, and 1 care home manager were interviewed about the meanings and roles of valued material objects following a residential transition. Older adult participants lived in either their own home, or a care home. Grounded theory method was used to build a theory of the value of objects for older adults following a residential transition.

Results: The theory proposes valued objects are associated with at least one of five key constructs; properties of objects, emotions, memory, connection, and legacy. The model also depicts the process of residential transition which is characterised by making decisions about objects.

Conclusion: Valued objects have important meanings and roles for older adults following a residential transition. Losing objects can result in emotional pain and potentially separate people from making use of objects to adjust and reflect on their move. Clinical recommendations include providing information to support people with making decisions about objects when moving house, and exploring the topic of valued objects with older adults when working therapeutically.

Introduction

Moving house later in life can be a major transition. Some studies have identified valued objects may be important to this process however the significance of objects is not well understood and related psychological theory is limited. As such, the present study aimed to build an explanatory model for the significance of valued objects to older adults in the context of a residential transition.

How the study was done?

12 people were interviewed about their valued objects after they had moved house. We spoke to people who lived in their own homes or in a care home. These interviews were analysed using a method called grounded theory which identifies common themes from the interviews.

What the study found?

The analysis found valued objects were associated with at least one of five key areas; properties of objects, emotions, memory, connection, and legacy. Valued objects were also reported as sometimes having important roles for people during a move, for example helping people with adjusting to their new home.

What are the implications for the future?

Clinical recommendations included providing information to support people with making decisions about objects when moving house, and exploring valued objects could be used more when working with people therapeutically.

Appendix T - Sample of valued objects identified by participants

- Walker
- Chair
- Specialist cushion
- Specialist chair
- Poppies
- Vase
- Collection of blue pottery
- Umbrella
- House
- Shed
- Lawnmowers
- Car
- Lawn
- Radio
- Television
- Cross stitch
- Children
- Photos
- Picnic table
- Photographs
- Painting of view from former home
- Painting of dogs
- Photographs
- Button box
- Arm chair
- Ring from partner
- Books
- 'Blacky' porcelain dog
- Davenport desk
- Little vase
- Meissen pottery
- Photographs
- Photo album
- African sword and shield
- Army paraphernalia
- Model car
- Model plane
- Books
- Little table
- "knick knacks" that grandson made
- A box of photographs
- Pans
- Print
- Frog candle
- Electrical items (stereo/radio/tv)

Ageing & Society

Submission

Ageing and Society is an interdisciplinary and international journal devoted to the understanding of human ageing and the circumstances of older people in their social and cultural contexts. We invite original contributions that fall within this broad remit and which have empirical, theoretical, methodological or policy relevance. All submissions, regardless of category, are subject to blind peer-review. Authors are reminded of the requirement to avoid ageist and other inappropriate language and to avoid the stereotypical representation of individuals or groups.

All papers must be submitted using Manuscript Central through the Journal's website at: <http://journals.cambridge.org/aso>.

All books for review should be sent to: Caroline Norrie and Kritika Samsi, Social Care Workforce Research Unit, King's College London, Strand, London, WC2R 2LS

All submissions must conform to the submission guidelines outlined below. Failure to do so may result in the submission being rejected.

Article categories

Research articles

Research articles must contain between 3,000 and 9,000 words, excluding the abstract and references. Most papers usually have the following sections in sequence: Title page, Abstract (200-300 words), Keywords (three to eight), Main text, Statement of ethical approval as appropriate, Statement of funding, Declaration

Proposals should be submitted by the co-ordinating Guest Editors by email to the Editor, Christina Victor: christina.victor@brunel.ac.uk

Proposals should be submitted by 28 February each year. For further information see the guidelines for special issue proposals available at: http://journals.cambridge.org/images/fileUpload/images/A&S_Special_Issue_Proposals.pdf

It is Ageing & Society practice that all papers in special issues are subject to blind peer review, undergoing the same refereeing process as all other submissions, led by the Ageing & Society Editor and co-ordinated by the journal's Editorial Assistant. The final decision whether to publish individual papers submitted as part of a special issues remains with the Editor.

Submission requirements

Exclusive submission to Ageing & Society

- Submission of the article to Ageing & Society is taken to imply that it has not been published elsewhere nor is it being considered for publication elsewhere. Authors will be required to confirm on submission of their article that the manuscript has been submitted solely to this journal and is not published, in press, or submitted elsewhere. Where the submitted manuscript is based on a working paper (or similar draft document published online), the working paper should be acknowledged and the author should include a statement with the submitted manuscript explaining how it differs from the working paper. Articles which are identical to a working paper or similar draft document published online will not be accepted for publication in Ageing & Society.

Appropriateness for Ageing Society

- All submissions must fall within the remit of the journal, as described at the beginning of this document.
- All manuscripts must meet the submission requirements set out in this document, closely following the instructions in the 'Preparation of manuscripts', 'Citation of references' and 'Table

