Qualitative Health Research

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Journal:	Qualitative Health Research
Manuscript ID	QHR-2017-0190.R2
Manuscript Type:	Research Article
Keywords:	Older People < Aging, Nursing, Lived Experience < Health, Emotions, Emotion Work, Social Support < Community and Public Health
Regions, Cultures, and Peoples:	Africa, Africans, Asia, Asian people, Europe, Europeans
Methods:	Meta Synthesis < Systematic Reviews < Research Strategies



'Trapped in an empty waiting room' - the existential human core of loneliness in old age – a metasynthesis

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Abstract

Loneliness in old age has a negative influence on quality of life, health and survival. To understand the phenomenon of loneliness in old age, the voices of lonely older adults should be heard. Therefore, the purpose of this metasynthesis was to synthesize scientific studies of older adults' experiences of loneliness. Eleven qualitative articles that met the inclusion criteria were analysed and synthesized according to Noblit and Hare's meta-ethnographic approach. The analysis revealed the overriding meaning of the existential human core of loneliness in old age expressed through the metaphor 'trapped in an empty waiting room'. Four interwoven themes were found: 1) the negative emotions of loneliness, 2) the loss of meaningful interpersonal relationships, 3) the influence of loneliness on self-perception and 4) the older adults' endeavours to deal with loneliness. The joint contribution of family

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members, health care providers and volunteers is necessary to break the vicious circle of loneliness.

Keywords:

Older adults, loneliness, qualitative research, metasynthesis, meta-ethnography, existential approach

Introduction

The phenomenon of loneliness has been viewed from a range of theoretical and philosophical angles. In phenomenological and existential approaches, loneliness is seen as a natural part of the human condition, which is unavoidable when passing through different life stages (Rokach, 2000, 2011). Existentialists view loneliness not only as a painful state but also as a potential for growth when facing fundamental life experiences (Peplau & Perlman, 1982). In the interactionist perspective presented by Weiss, Riesman, and Bowlby (1973), loneliness results from the absence of close relationships. According to Weiss and associates (1973), social and emotional isolation are two types of loneliness. The former is characterized by the absence of an engaging social network, while the latter is caused by the lack of a close intimate attachment. Sociological explanations represented by e.g. Bowman, Riesman or Slater claim that loneliness is due to sociological forces such as the commitment to individualism, increased family and social mobility, decline in primary group relations and an inclination to be 'liked' by others and to behave in accordance with their expectations (Peplau & Perlman, 1982, p. 126). Loneliness is therefore assumed to be an ontological structure in human existence (Nilsson, Lindström & Nåden, 2006), emerging during all life phases

(Rokach, 2000, 2011) and across a myriad of cultures (Dykstra, 2009; Rokach, Orzeck & Neto, 2004; van Staden & Coetzee, 2010).

The terms 'loneliness', 'social isolation', 'solitude', 'living alone' and 'being alone' are often used interchangeably. Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish between these concepts as they have different meanings and implications (Victor, Scambler, Bond, & Bowling, 2000; Victor, Scambler, & Bowling, 2008). Living alone does not necessarily imply feelings of aloneness or loneliness (Victor et al., 2008). Some individuals seek solitude and view being alone as important for their well-being and their personal as well as spiritual development (Dahlberg, 2007). On the other hand, individuals may experience emotional loneliness despite living with others and having a variety of social networks (Heravi-Karimooi, Rejeh, Foroughan, & Vaismoradi, 2012; Van Der Geest, 2004).

Although studies across different age groups show that loneliness in young people may be even stronger than in later life (Luhmann & Hawkley, 2016; Rokach, 2000) the prevalence of loneliness appears to increase in the oldest old (Dykstra, van Tilburg, & Gierveld, 2005; Savikko, Routasalo, Tilvis, Strandberg, & Pitkala, 2005). This is confirmed by longitudinal studies (Dahlberg, Andersson, McKee, & Lennartsson, 2015; Dykstra et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the experience of loneliness in old age can fluctuate in accordance with changes in life experiences (Kirkevold, Moyle, Wilkinson, Meyer, & Hauge, 2013).

Since this article focuses on the subjective experience of loneliness, we chose to combine the definition of emotional isolation provided by Weiss and associates (1973, p. 17) with Jasper's definition of the meaning of loneliness (van Staden & Coetzee, 2010, p. 524). In this article, we define loneliness as 'The experience of lacking desired relationships and of feeling the undesired absence of intimate attachment and reciprocal empathic understanding.'

Background

This section will focus on the influence of culture, gender, personal resources, living situation and family status on older adults' loneliness and its impact on their health and quality of life.

Cultural differences influence the experience of loneliness (Rokach & Bacanli, 2001) and older adults show different coping strategies across cultures when dealing with loneliness (Rokach et al., 2004). There is a higher prevalence of loneliness in Southern Europe than in Northern and Western Europe (Dykstra, 2009).

Although women usually report higher levels of loneliness (Dahlberg et al., 2015; Dong & Chen, 2016; Savikko et al., 2005), gender differences disappear when other factors are taken into account (Dahlberg et al., 2015). For women, mobility problems are a significant predictor of loneliness, whereas low levels of social contact predict loneliness for men (Dahlberg et al., 2015). Widowhood seems to be a strong predictor of loneliness in both genders (Bergland, Tveit, & Gonzales, 2016; Dahlberg et al., 2015), especially for men (Nicolaisen & Thorsen, 2014).

Personal resources and earlier life experiences may explain why some older adults experience greater levels of loneliness. Lonely participants state that they become overwhelmed, isolated and inactive due to their losses, whilst non-lonely participants view their losses as normal and remain active and connected to their environment (Kirkevold et al., 2013). A significant association between expected and experienced loneliness in older adults seems to exist (Pikhartova, Bowling, & Victor, 2016).

According to Savikko and associates (2005) illness is the most notable cause of loneliness, followed by the death of a spouse and the lack of family and friends. Their respondents who often or always felt lonely mentioned living a meaningless life. Adverse childhood experiences (Nicolaisen & Thorsen, 2014), abusive relationships (Beal, 2006; Dong, Chang, Wong, & Simon, 2012), experiences of hostilities and captivity (Stein & Tuval-Mashiach,

associates' (2012) suggestion.

2015), stigmatizing illness (Miles, Isler, Banks, Sengupta, & Corbie-Smith, 2011) and economic hardship are all associated with loneliness (Cohen-Mansfield, Hazan, Lerman, & Shalom, 2016; Luhmann & Hawkley, 2016). Poor hearing (Pronk, Deeg, & Kramer, 2013) and poor eyesight (Savikko et al., 2005) are recognized to increase the risk for loneliness.

Loneliness represents a significant health problem and is associated with a higher mortality risk for lonely older adults (Luo, Hawkley, Waite, & Cacioppo, 2012; Perissinotto, Stijacic Cenzer, & Covinsky, 2012). Luo and associates (2012) suggest that health behaviours and social relations cannot explain the higher mortality risks and therefore suggest that loneliness can alter physiology at a fundamental level. The association between loneliness and functional decline (Perissinotto et al., 2012; Theeke, 2013) cognitive decline (Boss, Kang, & Branson, 2015) and even dementia (Holwerda et al., 2014) seems to support Luo and

Loneliness corresponds with a lower health-related quality of life (Taube, Kristensson, Sandberg, Midlöv, & Jakobsson, 2015) and is related to a number of health complaints such as high blood pressure, sleeping problems and immune stress responses (Luanaigh & Lawlor, 2008) and heart disease, stroke, diabetes and pulmonary disease (Petitte et al., 2015). There is a relationship between depression and emotional loneliness (Drageset, Eide, & Ranhoff, 2013; Peerenboom, Collard, Naarding, & Comijs, 2015) and anxiety seems to be a feature of loneliness (Canham, 2015; Dong et al., 2012). A significant relationship between loneliness and suicidal behaviour among UK adults has been documented (Stickley & Koyanagi, 2016). Where and how people live influences their experience of loneliness. Living alone in contrast to living with a partner seems to be related to greater loneliness in older adults and rural older adults are more prone (Nyqvist, Cattan, Andersson, Forsman, & Gustafson, 2013; Savikko et al., 2005). Loneliness is a common experience in nursing home residents (Drageset,

Kirkevold, & Espehaug, 2011; Slettebö, 2008) who experience greater loneliness than older adults living at home (Nyqvist et al., 2013; Pinquart & Sorensen, 2001). Institutionalization per se increases older adults' feelings of loneliness (Gill, Hogg, & Dolley, 2016; Kvaal et al., 2014; Slama & Bergman-Evans, 2000).

The findings of qualitative studies on loneliness reveal the dark side of loneliness as an emotionally disturbing experience that throws older adults into a turmoil of life challenges (Bergland et al., 2016; Canham, 2015; Dong et al., 2012; Hauge & Kirkevold, 2010). Older adults may be well aware of the risk of becoming lonely and apply actions and attitudes to prevent and fight the experience (Bergland et al., 2016; Carmona, Dias Couto, & Scorsolini-Comin, 2014).

A wide range of interventions have been implemented to reduce older adults' experiences of loneliness (Franck, Molyneux, & Parkinson, 2016; Gardiner, Geldenhuys, & Gott, 2016; Hagan, Manktelow, Taylor, & Mallett, 2014). Nevertheless, limited evidence is available and it seems that the interventions are seldom grounded in the older adults' own experiences.

Although there is much knowledge about loneliness in older adults, including recent new reviews (Cohen-Mansfield et al., 2016; Wright-St Clair, White, & Napier 2017) we did not find any reviews or metasyntheses focusing on older adults' subjective experiences of loneliness. Therefore, the purpose of this metasynthesis was to synthesize scientific studies that focus on older adults' experiences of loneliness to gain a deeper understanding of the phenomenon and to suggest further directions for practice, education and research. The research question was: How do older adults experience loneliness and how do they deal with loneliness?

Methodology and method

Noblit and Hare's (1988) meta-ethnography approach was used to synthesize the findings of qualitative studies on older adults' experiences of loneliness. This approach was developed to integrate qualitative research findings on a particular phenomenon to 'make sense of what the collection of studies is saying' (p. 14). The goal of meta-ethnography was to develop new interpretations to enlarge and enrich human discourse (Noblit in Thorne, Jensen, Kearney, Noblit, & Sandelowski, 2004). The approach is firmly based on the interpretative paradigm (Noblit & Hare, 1988, p. 11) and is well suited to develop a holistic understanding of personal experiences (France et al., 2015). Although Noblit and Hare's (1988) starting point was not to interpret and synthesize studies to inform practice, their approach has turned out to be useful in this respect (Bondas & Hall, 2007; Clarke, 2014; Noblit in Thorne et al., 2004; Vaismoradi, Wang, Bondas, & Turunen, 2016).

Search strategy, criteria and qualitative appraisal of the studies

We performed a pilot test in a multitude of electronic databases where the keyword 'loneliness' was combined with: nursing home, attachment, relationship, coherence, social support, belonging, inclusion, social activities, social isolation, nurse-patient relation and attachment. We altered our original aim to explore loneliness in nursing homes because we did not find enough studies on this. The pilot test and a consultation with an expert librarian aided the identification of keywords and databases for the final search process. All members of the research team participated in the search process, the systematic review of studies and the appraisal of relevant studies.

Relevant empirical research articles published in scientific journals from 2001 to 2016 from the online databases PubMed (including Medline), SCOPUS, PsycINFO, CINAHL (EBSCO), British Nursing Index, SveMed+ and EMBASE were retrieved. We did not find

studies published earlier than 2001 that filled the inclusion criteria. The keywords used for the search process were 'older', 'elderly' and 'old age', combined with 'loneliness', (and 'qualitative') in any part of the articles. In addition, backtracking of the references of the reviewed articles along with an ancestry search maximized the coverage of related articles. Further manual searches in the most well known journals with articles relevant to the care of older adults and in qualitative journals were carried out (International Journal of Older People Nursing, Aging and Mental Health, International Journal of Qualitative Studies on Health and Well-being, and Qualitative Health Research). The research team members' expertise in Finnish and German led to an expansion of the search to cover relevant studies in those languages in the German journal 'Pflege' (Care) and the Finnish journal 'Hoitotiede' (Nursing Science). The following inclusion criteria were used to choose articles for the synthesis process:

- (i) articles dealing with the phenomenon of loneliness from the perspective of older adults, whom we defined as persons > 60 years old
- (ii) peer-reviewed original articles from healthcare disciplines published in scientific journals
- (iii) articles using qualitative methods or mixed methods
- (iv) in cases of mixed-method studies or studies that presented both older adults' and others' perspectives, only the qualitative part and the perspectives of older adults were included for the synthesis if they were discernible

The exclusion criteria were studies conducted with older adults who suffered from mental or physical illness in a palliative/terminal state or were in a life situation that blurred their perspectives of the phenomenon of loneliness, such as being abused or having an addictive lifestyle. These criteria were set to limit the metasynthesis and to avoid blending the phenomenon of loneliness with other life crises or life threatening conditions. The members

of the research team conducted the search process both independently and in pairs, but held discussions throughout the study process to reach a consensus and inform other members of decisions made during the search process and full-text appraisal. As Noblit and Hare (1988) do not provide information about the search and appraisal process and reporting guidelines are still under development (France et al., 2014), we used Sandelowski and Barroso's (2007) handbook for synthesizing qualitative research to guide these processes. The modified COREQ 32-item checklist was used to appraise the retrieved studies (Lundgren, Begley, Gross, & Bondas, 2012; Tong, Sainsbury, & Craig, 2007) (Table 1). Two studies that scored < 25 on this checklist were excluded. Eleven articles were chosen for inclusion in the qualitative synthesis.

Insert Figure 1, Flow chart here:

The synthesis process

The researchers read the selected articles independently and in pairs and extracted core concepts and metaphors from each article. During the translation process, tables were created and the core concepts and metaphors of each study were compared with those of the other studies (Noblit & Hare, 1988). In frequent Skype discussions, we shared our understandings and theoretical perspectives.

Noblit and Hare's (1988) synthesizing process developed from Turner's thesis that all explanation is essentially comparative and takes the form of translation (p. 25). To translate studies into each other means to compare the studies' main concepts or metaphors to discover if their relationships are reciprocal (similar or analogous), refutational (in opposition), or form a line of argument (illuminate different aspects of a phenomenon) (p. 36). The relationships between the studies' concepts and metaphors were found to be 'analogous' with the possibility of further analysis as reciprocal (Noblit & Hare, 1988). Next, the studies were

translated into one another by developing themes, considering their homogeneity. An iterative cyclical process characterized the analysis, where we moved back and forth, comparing and contrasting the findings of the primary studies. The translation was synthesized to create a whole greater than the individual parts. Lastly, a coherent description of the study phenomenon as a meta-finding was developed (Noblit & Hare, 1988), striving for comprehensiveness, and validation by using citations.

Aiming to preserve the key findings of each study, the researchers created a metaphor with sufficient comprehensiveness and abstraction to connect the findings of all the articles, offering a new understanding with the potential to lead to caring interventions for further research.

Results

The studies are described and numbered in Table 1 and will henceforth be referred to with these numbers.

Insert Table 1 Description of the studies here:

There is a geographical spread of studies. With the exception of study 1, published in 2001, the studies were published between 2010 and 2016. Altogether, the participants of the studies consisted of 290 older adults (217 women and 73 men). Their ages ranged from 62 to 103 years. The marital status of participants is not shown in all studies, but the majority of participants were widowed (n=140) or lived alone because they were single or divorced (n=94). Studies 5, 8 and 10 lack descriptions of participants' types of accommodation. In the remaining studies, two participants lived in nursing homes, 14 in residential care units, 12 in independent living units and 114 lived in private flats or houses. The participants in study 9 had been recently admitted to a geriatric ward to treat exacerbations of chronic illnesses. All

participants in studies 9 and 10 suffered from chronic physical illnesses. In studies 2, 7 and 11, participants were described as frail and dependent on other people's help.

Five studies used a phenomenological design and one of these applied story theory. Two were hermeneutical studies, three used content analysis, one had an explorative descriptive design and one used a visual method representing the participants and people or things of importance for them, where these were discussed with the researcher. With the exception of the latter study, all studies used interviews to collect data. None of the studies applied a theoretical framework other than the chosen methodological approach.

The translation process illuminated four main themes in the included studies; these were further interpreted as the existential human core of loneliness in old age and were expressed by the metaphor 'trapped in an empty waiting room'. The four themes that evolved were:

A wall of sadness in an anxious space of being - negative emotions of loneliness

Loneliness was perceived as a wall that separated the older adults from their surroundings, leaving them disconnected, helpless and confined to an empty and boring life. As loneliness was usually not an optional state, there was little chance to escape. The following quotes describe the feelings of imprisonment: '[...] like a jail, with the walls around you [...] you can't stroll in the streets [...] you are entrapped and waiting for death to come.' (4, p. 284). A 95-year-old man explained: 'The problem is to break the wall of loneliness' (6, p. 556). Living in residential care for older adults could enforce feelings of loneliness, especially at weekends when many residents left to visit their family (1; 7).

Often, the older adult could become overwhelmed by negative emotions that made life difficult. Sadness and grief were expressions used throughout all the studies and anger or

disappointment was expressed when participants felt overlooked, rejected, disrespected or misunderstood by people close to them (1; 3; 4; 6; 8-11).

Fear and anxiety were common feelings (1-4; 6; 8-10; 11). These feelings were always there, lingering around the next corner, and were related to the fear of future dependency due to increasing illness, frailty and loss of abilities (10; 11) and to the anxiety of being forced to relocate (10). Two women said:

It is the future that's hard [...] the day when you won't be able to go out and be part of things [...]. Nobody comes [...] I think about that a lot [...] it's a fear [woman, 80 years old (11, p. 635)].

I think all those fears would just trap you. There was like a fog on my mind [...] being afraid of what would happen [...] [participant's age unknown] (10, p. 65).

Being afraid of causing trouble for others, especially for their children, was a source of anxiety and worry (1; 6; 10). Having no one to turn to when in need and feeling vulnerable and insecure were other reasons for fear (1; 11): *You are so alone and you don't have anybody, you're almost afraid, don't want the night to come* [...] [woman 83 years old (1, p. 134)].

Being one of the few remaining representatives of their own generation reinforced their feelings of abandonment and sadness. Having no one to turn to called forth feelings of meaninglessness and made them think of and even wish for death. In six studies metaphors connected with death or death wishes were expressed: 'it is like a morgue' (1), 'nothing to live for, no future [...] as though you reached the end of life', '[...] waiting for death to come' (4), 'end of life approaching' (11), 'best thing is to die' (2) 'a grave' (7), 'suicidal thoughts 20 hours a day' (9).

"Give me back my past" – the loss of meaningful interpersonal relationships

The loss of a beloved partner or other meaningful persons in the old adult's life was a significant contributor to loneliness (1-5; 8; 11). A 75-year-old woman explained: 'Loneliness to me is losing your loved ones, like I lost my mum and I lost my husband [...] A part of you goes with them [...] to me that is loneliness' (5, p. 411). Another old adult said: 'The loss of a loved one leaves an emptiness that no one can fill [...]' (4, p. 284). Sometimes these losses represented the onset of loneliness. One old woman said, as she drew a grave to illustrate her feelings: 'A grave. It was at a grave like this where my loneliness and life alone started' (7, p. 4). Death of or separation from a child was especially hard to cope with (4).

Participants had lost meaningful relationships due to their poor health (8) or their friends' frailty or death (2; 4). The older adults missed the affection, nurturance and affirmation the relationship had provided (1). They especially longed for companionship from someone of their own generation who could understand them (4; 11). A 73-year-old female stated: [...] that's probably the greatest loneliness [...] to feel that one's [...] older siblings are gone [...] and you get lonelier and lonelier [...] (11, p. 636).

Losing these important relationships meant being in a state where it was difficult to embrace new relationships (1; 4; 8). The remaining network did not always fulfil their expectations (1; 3; 4; 7; 9-11). Without someone to share their world with, life was filled with emptiness. In all but two studies (5; 10), hopelessness and loss of meaning in life were expressed: '[...] to me loneliness is feeling empty. Feeling like you have nothing to reach for [...] nothing to dream of' [80-year-old woman (1, p. 134)]. 'It feels as if you no longer have something to live for, no future [...] as though you have reached the end of your life' (4, p. 284).

In all studies, the older adults expressed feelings of abandonment, isolation and disconnection when they felt that no one really cared about them. Widowers often longed for new partners but remarriage after a partner's death was not accepted in all societies (3). Usually, loneliness

was related to living alone but could also occur when living or spending time with adult children (3; 6). It was hard to accept being cut off when one's family or friends were too busy living their own lives (1-4; 9; 10). One 87-year-old man described his disappointment in this way: I have two sons, three daughters and eleven grandchildren, but they have their own life and work. Only one of my daughters visits me regularly once a week [...]. They are going to push me towards a nursing home [...] [starts crying] (3, p. 278).

The quality of their relationships strongly influenced the older adults' experiences of loneliness. High-quality relationships prevented loneliness (5) and made it easier to deal with (4; 6). Loneliness was experienced as fluctuating according to family members' availability and attitudes towards the elderly (6). Further, the wavering experience of loneliness was related to meaningful times of the day or year, such as mealtimes (11) or times when the former partner used to come home after work, to Christmas (4) or to weekends or vacation times (1; 7; 9). Strong feelings of loneliness sprang forth at evening, at night or in winter (5), as one woman (age unknown) said: 'Loneliness catches up with you at night when you switch off that light. You sleep on the double bed where you are alone. When there is nothing to occupy your thoughts, then loneliness comes' (4, p. 284).

Feeling useless, unconnected and unable to keep up – Loneliness and the perception of self

Feelings of uselessness and worthlessness strongly influenced participants' perceptions of self (2; 7-9). These feelings related to lost abilities, both physical and cognitive, or to feelings of being outdated or unconnected to their surroundings (3; 6). A 96-year-old woman stated: 'But you don't know what is going on. Yesterday I spent time with my children and grandchildren, and they talked all the time about things that I wasn't able to understand. It is impossible to keep up' (6, p. 556). Significant others' lack of understanding and

acknowledgement or their disrespect and rejection had a negative influence on the older adult's perception of self (2; 7). On the other hand, the older adults felt valuable and proud if they were still able to contribute to society and meant something to others (4; 6-8).

If the old adults perceived that the community no longer needed them, they felt unconnected, like strangers within their own society (5): '[...] you feel like you are abandoned [...] you don't fit in [...] you are not part of it [...] ostracized [...] a leper' [man, 86 years old (1, p. 135)]. The societal changes that had contributed to isolation were mentioned: 'Times have changed. Once upon a time, the postman came, the bread man delivered the bread, and the milkman delivered the milk. You knew all these people [...] nowadays you don't even see your neighbours [...] you don't know them hardly' (5, p. 411).

Not being needed any more made them feel worthless and depressed: 'It feels like you are a nonentity, and it feels like there is nothing within you that gives someone else a reason to want to know you' [woman (10, p. 65)]. For men, retirement called forth feelings of worthlessness (8).

Being bothersome for their families was another reason why participants held low feelings of self-worth (6; 10). A 95-year-old woman claimed: 'You are old, and you just think you are a bother. Yes, you are a bother. "We have to look after mother, oh, mother needs this or that" [...]' (6, p. 556).

Age-related bodily decline, especially loss of gait function, eyesight or hearing together with chronic illness made them feel dependent on other people's goodwill (1; 2; 3; 4; 8; 10). Giving up driving meant a limitation to freedom and called forth feelings of being trapped and powerless (1; 8; 11). Some communities lacked social and external support systems, making it impossible to get out and join appreciated activities that had been important for self-perception (3; 8).

Sometimes, loneliness was experienced as a stigma, a sign of weakness, or even a failure that one should be able to cope with. Participants found it difficult to speak about their loneliness as they thought it was a private matter, impossible to understand for others (1; 4; 5; 9).

Being alone instead of being part of a couple as before triggered feelings of being incomplete (Smith, 2012), or not being able to mix in with others (1). An 86-year-old widow described her experiences as follows: 'after he died, it was like someone got a knife and cut something off [...] you don't mix in [...] it changes your whole perception of things about you' (1, p. 133).

Some older adults felt invisible, although they wanted others to notice who they had been: 'I would like to gather those who live here and tell them my story so they will know who I am and who I was [...] [Man, 96 years old (2, p. 436)].

Struggling to maintain the energy to endure - ways of dealing with loneliness

The varying emotional expressions connected with loneliness were commonly accompanied by bodily sensations. These could be a lack of strength, loss of energy and initiative (6). They could also entail feeling pain (1; 3; 4; 9), tightness in the chest (1), feeling cold, unwell and agitated (9), losing appetite (1), feeling tired (3; 7; 11), feeling lethargic (11) and depressed (7).

Together with the claims of an ageing body, it was difficult to endure loneliness or even fight against it: 'When it feels so incredibly empty, then I don't have the strength to do anything [...]. I don't have the strength to turn on the radio [...] I feel so lethargic and strange [...] and then I fall asleep' [woman, 84 years old (11, p. 636)].

Nevertheless, the studies revealed how important it was to continue an active engagement with life and not to give in. Reaching out to others by using the telephone, volunteering and

going out was seen as a release from loneliness (4; 6; 8; 10; 11). One female participant suggested trying her solution: 'Try to make more friends, and forget about yourself [...]. I'm much better when I'm busy doing things for people. That's all I've done all my life, so you have to be needed [...] (8, p. 303). Keeping oneself busy both physically and mentally by maintaining the enjoyable activities that were still available was important (4; 8; 10), as was adding structure to one's day (10). Television, pets, reading and gardening helped the older adults to keep busy (8; 10). Some participants fought off loneliness by enjoying their memories from happier times together with others (3; 10)

Being active was seen as a conscious decision and some took responsibility themselves to plan and prepare for the future to fight off loneliness (4; 5; 11). A 68-year-old man explained how he kept loneliness away: 'You have to keep pushing yourself all the time. I am actually conscious of not sitting in my chair. I have to keep getting up and doing something. [...] (5, p. 410). Some thought that it was a matter of attitude if one felt lonely or not. A participant in study 4 (p. 285) made these suggestions to avoid loneliness: 'It is just your own perspective, change your thoughts to be more positive [...]. Set your spirit for something better [...]' Religion was an important means to endure loneliness (1; 2; 4; 10). Faith and trust in God who would take care was highlighted in several studies, as illustrated by the following quote:

Some of the older adults' narratives revealed positive features of loneliness. In study 9, loneliness as a potential for personal growth was mentioned. Other positive consequences of loneliness were being free to make decisions, not being obliged to take others into consideration (2; 11), being protected from disappointment and having time to reflect and reload (11). Loneliness was manageable if it was not constant but fluctuating and if

'I know I'm never alone, the Lord is always with me' (4, p. 286).

participants felt they were still valuable and had the initiative to cope with their loneliness (6). Being lonely could be satisfying but only if it was optional (11).

The oldest old experienced that loneliness also meant living in confidence and being content and happy (2). They seemed to have accepted loneliness as an unavoidable part of very old age and thus managed to live for the moment, as this 95-year old woman said: 'It is this day that counts; yesterday is gone and tomorrow reaches beyond time and life' (p. 436).

The existential human core of loneliness in old age – trapped in an empty waiting room

The metaphor evolved through the iterative process of analysis, reading and discussions in the research group. The older adults' experiences illuminated both the existential and physical core of human loneliness, expressed in this study by the metaphor 'trapped in an empty waiting room'. The loss of bodily functions and health was common, resulting in loss of personal freedom and choice. The ageing body created obstacles that were difficult to overcome, causing increased dependency on others to keep in contact with one's network. As this dependency increased, the older adults felt that their world was shrinking.

Loss was an important part of the older adults' experiences of emptiness. The meaning of various losses came forth as the loss of meaningful relationships and connectedness with the older adult's former familiar world. The ageing process left the older adults' bodies weak and vulnerable and made them feel isolated, anxious and entrapped within their own four walls. Hope ceased when the older adult understood that their situation would get worse as their state of health and functional ability decreased. In addition, they were trapped by their own feelings of uselessness and inadequacy when they could not keep up with those around them. The older adults experienced a sting of emptiness and meaninglessness when lacking important relationships and feeling that no one needed them. A waiting room suggests that the person, despite feeling trapped, is not in a permanent situation. There is hope for change,

a possibility that someone will open the door and invite the lonely person into a new situation. If the lonely person manages to find new vigour, the feeling of being trapped may transform. The lonely person may actively 'open the door' to social life. Empowerment to change the situation may arise from the person's will and wish for change. The door can also be opened from the outside by others who are aware of the older adult's need for recognition as someone who can still contribute to the community. 'Opening the door' is thus a related metaphor for change. If this fails to happen, there is a risk that the lonely older adult will stay trapped, waiting for death to come.

For professionals and relatives, the metaphor of the empty waiting room offers an evocative and fruitful way of understanding the lonely older adult. This tangible picture of what it feels like to be lonely may be what is needed to spur action. We can metaphorically open the door and provide some relief for the older adult who experiences entrapment.

Insert Figure 2, The metaphor here:

Discussion

The purpose of this metasynthesis was to synthesize studies that focus on older adults' experiences of loneliness in order to advance scientific knowledge of the phenomenon of loneliness in old age and to provide suggestions for practice, education and research. The overall findings reveal an overriding theme, the existential human core of loneliness in old age expressed by the metaphor 'trapped in an empty waiting room'. The metaphor expresses how the older adults' lives were put on hold, as they were trapped in an anxious state without meaningful interpersonal relationships and imprisoned in feelings of being useless and unconnected.

Negative emotions of loneliness

The older adults portrayed loneliness as a devastating condition connected with multiple negative emotions that drained their energy and life spirit (3; 6; 10). This is in accordance with the existentialist view that portrays loneliness as an essential but painful structure of human existence impossible to escape from (Tillich, 1980). The findings in Dahlberg's (2007) study show that loneliness is referred to as something wrong, ugly and even shameful and Eriksson (1995) claims that the most difficult form of loneliness is being deprived of something one has held or wished for, causing intense suffering comparable with death.

According to Eriksson, unendurable suffering cripples the human being and prevents the person from living a meaningful life. The older adults in the studies did in fact use metaphors and symbols connected with death, "like a grave" or "a morgue" to illustrate their feelings of loneliness (1; 7) and they felt isolated and trapped, just waiting for death to come (4; 5; 8).

The strong relationship between loneliness and loss was obvious in our metasynthesis and called forth aching feelings of grief and longing. These findings concur with other qualitative studies that have explored the phenomenon of living alone (Bergland et al., 2016; Kirkevold et al., 2013). Nevertheless, studies also reveal that older adults living alone are content in their solitude (Ebrahimi, Wilhelmson, Moore, & Jakobsson, 2012; Hayes, 2006).

Our metasynthesis showed that fear or anxiety is a common companion to loneliness and led to feelings of entrapment, in the words of one older adult (10, p. 65). Anxiety appeared to reduce the older adults' limited energy even more and hindered them in seeking for strategies that could have alleviated their loneliness. It is known that anxiety in older adults is associated with life dissatisfaction, illness and mortality (Wuthrich & Frei, 2015). The association between fear and loneliness has been mentioned earlier (Canham, 2015; Jakobsson & Hallberg, 2005) and needs to be explored more thoroughly.

The loss of meaningful interpersonal relationships

The voices of the older adults in the reviewed studies led to an understanding of loneliness in old age as an absence of high-quality relationships (1; 4; 8; 11). Many had suffered the loss of a beloved partner (1-5; 8; 11) or friends and acquaintances from their own generation (4; 11). A caring family was of great importance (6; 10; 11) but unfortunately, some older adults found that their family visited them out of obligation rather than genuine interest (1; 3; 6). Dahlberg (2007) claims that lacking a sense of belonging to important persons in one's life is an essential feature of loneliness. Our metasynthesis reveals a strong lack of belonging in relation to significant others; this turned the older adult's being into a state of non-being (10; 11). A sense of meaninglessness came forth that drained the individual's energy.

The findings of our metasynthesis agree with Pinquart and Sorensen's (2001) metaanalysis showing that the quality of social contact is more important than the quantity. In their study, loneliness was more strongly related to contact with friends and neighbours than with family. These findings point to the importance of supporting older adults to develop and maintain social ties with people from their own generation with whom they can share common experiences. The influence of culture on loneliness is visible in the Iranian study (3), which showed that remarriage was not accepted by the participants' adult children, and this increased the older adults' loneliness.

Existential philosophers underline that human beings cannot exist without togetherness. Heidegger (1927/2001, p. 192) states that a substantial existential aspect of being-in-theworld is being-with and nurturing concern for others. Being-with others when others' concern is lacking is of little benefit to the older adult. This is obvious in their quotes, complaining about loneliness when being with others or living with others who do not really care about them. Moustakas (1972, p.62) underlines the importance of the genuine presence of one

individual to the other. He argues that where this authenticity of the inter-human is not found, the human element itself will be violated.

Loneliness and the perception of self

The older adults' feeling of not really being needed any longer either by family or community was a serious threat to their concept of self (1; 2; 5; 7-9) and contributed to their loss of meaning and life purpose. On the other hand, respectful and caring relationships with family and friends strengthened the older adults' life purpose (4-6; 8). Being needed and wanted by others and being able to do something for others is known as an important source of meaning in life and contributes to a positive life orientation (Fagerström, 2010; Pinquart, 2002) and to the inner strength of older adults (Nygren, Norberg, & Lundman, 2007). Data deriving from the same project as study 2 showed that meaning in life in the oldest old meant being able to create a space for living that connected to significant others and nature. Having trust in God, faith in others and seeing oneself as a link between generations (Jonsén, Norberg, & Lundman, 2015; Nygren et al., 2007) was also important.

The lack of meaning in life expressed in most of the included studies (1-4; 6; 8; 9; 11) seemed to be the darkest side of loneliness, a feeling of being trapped in a boring and hopeless condition that led to death wishes and suicidal thoughts. This concurs with the findings of a recent metasynthesis of older adults living in nursing homes who experienced loneliness and struggled to find meaning (Vaismoradi et al., 2016).

Pinquart's (2002) metaanalysis shows that older adults' perceptions of purpose in life are strongly associated with social integration and high-quality relationships. Older adults often claim that they are excluded from social and cultural participation in their communities. Such negative attitudes may be due to ageism (Angus & Reeve, 2006). Retirement, lack of public transport, poor economic support and inappropriate services contribute to social isolation of

older adults, especially if they suffer from bodily or cognitive constraints (Papageorgiou, Marquis, & Dare, 2016; Nicholson 2012). In addition, losing the younger generation's respect and willingness to listen to the older adults' wisdom and advice leads to loneliness and loss of life courage (Van Der Geest, 2004). Tillich (2014) writes about existential courage and the need to be part of something whilst at the same time being acknowledged for being oneself. Existential courage is supported by showing respect for each individual's personhood. As one of the participants in study 2 conveyed: "I would like [...] to tell them my story so they will know who I am and who I was."

Struggling to maintain the energy to endure

According to Eriksson (1992), alleviating the suffering of loneliness is possible and depends on the person's ability to face the suffering. Nevertheless, loneliness is not easily recognized, as it often lacks language (Eriksson, 1992, 1997). Our metasynthesis shows that not all of the older adults were able to disclose their loneliness (1;4;5;9). Some hid their feelings because they felt responsible or ashamed of being lonely or they suffered silently as words fell short. To share their experiences with appreciated others would have been beneficial in order to face the challenges. Sharing experiences that are difficult to express is usually a time-consuming endeavour. Unfortunately, most of the older adults felt that their family members had very little time to spend, as they were busy with their own lives.

In these studies, the older adults showed different strategies to face the suffering of loneliness by looking for togetherness with others, trying to keep occupied or seeking comfort in religion. Although spirituality can support older adults' resilience and well-being in times of hardship (Manning, 2013) and enhance their coping efforts (Harris, Allen, Dunn, & Parmelee, 2013), most of the participants in the included studies were unable to reconcile themselves to their suffering. It can be assumed that their advanced age, poor health and lack

of energy and support deprived them of strategies to deal with their condition. Dahlberg (2007) found that the lack of a meaningful context is an essential feature of loneliness. Many of these participants appeared to long for a meaningful life context that could provide them with the energy to persevere.

The very old participants in study 2 showed a more positive attitude to loneliness. Their imminent death may have contributed to their quest for seeking harmony and freedom in solitude. These findings are in accordance with Tornstam's (2005) theory of gerotranscendence, where the older adult is more positive towards life, feels affinity with loved ones who have passed away and prefers solitude to superficial social contacts.

Methodological reflections

Being aware of the ongoing discussion on the validity of metasynthesis research (Britten, Garside, Pope, Frost, & Cooper, 2017, Thorne et al., 2004; Thorne, 2017a, 2017b), our aim was to integrate beyond aggregation. We argue that our metasynthesis study enhances human science knowledge for the benefit of older adults, their families and health care practice. Although we preserved the original meanings of the included studies, our synthesis and the emerging metaphor represent a novel interpretation that goes beyond those results (Noblit & Hare, 1988; Thorne et al., 2004). The validity of our metasynthesis may be judged in relation to whether a progressive problem shift resulted (Noblit & Hare, 1988). The qualitative research team represented various disciplinary backgrounds in nursing, caring, social sciences and psychology and a variety of educational, experiential and research experience in the field of ageing. We adopted a critical reflective approach, ensuring rigour by challenging our preunderstandings and the emerging synthesis. The included studies came from different cultural settings and applied different qualitative methods, which is considered a strength (Paterson,

Thorne, Canam, & Jillings, 2001; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2007). The various studies may have influenced each other as the later studies cite several of the earlier studies.

The decision to include only peer-reviewed studies and to exclude grey literature may have limited the results. Our decision to exclude studies with terminally ill participants or participants suffering from life crises also set limits. On the other hand, the metaethnographic approach does not claim to gather all relevant literature on a phenomenon but aims at retrieving sufficient studies to shed light on the phenomenon of interest and enable the translation process (Noblit in Thorne et al. 2004, p. 27-28). However, thorough searches in relevant databases combined with manual searches in close collaboration with librarians were performed to gather all relevant studies (Bondas & Hall, 2007; Sandelowski & Barroso, 2007). It was important for us to let the voices of the older adults be heard, and we therefore excluded studies without their perspectives. Noblit and Hare's (1988) approach differs from qualitative systematic reviews in its underpinning theory, use of the original authors' interpretations and the creation of novel interpretation through the analytic synthesis process (France et al., 2015, p. 2). Presenting a metasynthesis using Noblit and Hare's (1988) approach is challenging as reporting guidelines are still under development (France et al., 2015). We have attempted to make our research process transparent. It is for the reader to decide whether the synthesis creates a deeper understanding and is useful within the reader's particular context.

Implications for practice, education and research

The existential human core of loneliness in old age is difficult to avoid, as it is a feature of growing old and facing multiple losses. Nevertheless, the waiting room metaphor can also capture the possibility for change as the occurrence of an event or events that can help older adults deal with their present state of loneliness. Therefore, health care workers should aim at

alleviating the suffering of loneliness and nurture the older adults' zest for life. Faith and trust in another person or being engaged in something experienced as meaningful may alleviate the existential suffering of loneliness (Eriksson, 1992). In such caring communion, health professionals are able to nurture life-conducive phenomena such as hope and life courage (Clancy, Balteskard, Perander, & Mahler, 2015; Delmar, 2013). Preventive home visits undertaken by engaged health care workers, can provide caring relationships where the older adults are confirmed in their value as human beings and receive support to maintain their network and meaningful activities (Tøien, Bjørk, & Fagerström, 2015).

To support older lonely adults' self-perception, health care workers should try to promote quality relationships, enable older adults to look back on their lives with pride and support their ability to do the things they enjoy (Clancy et al., 2015). Activities should be individualized and grounded in the older adults' life history to support their sense of self.

Art interventions may have a positive influence on self-esteem, mental wellbeing and the maintenance of social networks (Crone et al., 2012; McCabe, Greasley-Adams, & Goodson, 2015). Likewise, the positive experiences nature can offer reduce isolation and loneliness (Franck et al., 2016, Tse, 2010) and may even enhance the relationship between patients and health care workers (Magnussen, Bondas, & Alteren, 2017).

Storytelling is another meaningful and healing endeavour that supports continuity in life by sharing important experiences with devoted others (Bronken, Kirkevold, Martinsen, & Kvigne, 2012; Frank, 1995). Together with reminiscence, storytelling may enhance older adults' self-esteem (Clancy et al., 2015; Scott & Debrew, 2009). A novel intervention to prevent loneliness in older adults grounded in story theory (Smith & Liehr, 2005) has recently been developed (Theeke & Mallow, 2015).

Interventions to maintain older adults' relationships with family members and significant others are needed. Nowadays, mobile apps and communication software may facilitate contact with others who are unable to pay frequent visits but instruction in the use of the equipment might be necessary. As shown in the metasynthesis, spirituality may relieve loneliness and feelings of abandonment and add meaning to the older adult's life.

Nursing education should focus on the negative impact of the multiple losses in old age, support for older adults to maintain important relationships and the provision of meaningful activities. In 2005, the concept of 'joy of life for old people' was introduced by engaged nursing students in Norway. More than 80 joy-of-life nursing homes have since been established in 30 districts in Norway. The overriding aim of these institutions is to preserve older adults' life courage through valuable communion with others and meaningful and joyful activities on a daily basis. Person-centred professional care based on shared decision making is in focus. In addition, the staff is attentive to the patients' existential worries and psychosocial needs and facilitates the help of family members and volunteers (Moum, 2016). Although leaders, staff, patients and family members have evaluated the joy-of-life institutions positively, research work to evaluate the positive consequences is still needed. The exploration and comparison of the meaning of loneliness among older adults living in different places such as nursing homes, their own homes and public care homes will provide a more comprehensive description of the phenomenon of loneliness. To examine the effect of various interventions to reduce loneliness in older adults calls for participatory action research (Zakrajsek, Schuster, Guenther, & Lorenz, 2013) to involve the older adults in the research process.

Due to demographic changes and a growing elderly population, a great effort is needed to prevent older adults from sinking into the vicious and life-constraining circle of loneliness.

The joint contribution of family members, health care providers and volunteers seems to be necessary to achieve this goal.

"The sighing of numberless lonely people all over the world and in our nearest neighbourhood fills those ears which are opened by love" (Tillich, 1980, p. 549).

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest.

Funding

This research received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

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Figure 1, Flow chart of the search and inclusion process

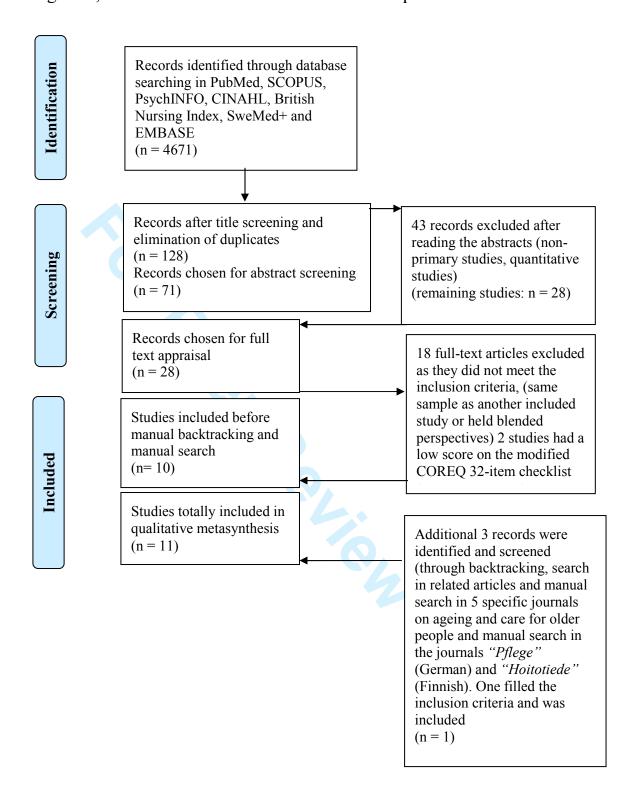


Table 1, Description of the included studies and quality assessment score

Author, Year, Country	Aim/objective/purpose	Sample	Context	Method	Results	Quality assessment score (modified COREQ 32)
1) McInnis & White (2001) Canada	To explore the essential elements of the lived experience of loneliness for the elderly living in the community, and to describe the meaning made of this phenomenon by the person experiencing it	20 old adults (17 women, 3 men), most aged >75 Interviews	Community dwelling older adults	Phenomenology	Five themes: the fracture of important relationships; response to the pain accompanying the perceived ending of a relationship; ways of coping; anxiety, fear, sadness and dependence; silent suffering	33
2) Graneheim & Lundman (2010) Sweden	To elucidate experiences of loneliness among the very old who live alone	30 oldest old adults (23 women, 7 men) aged 85-103	Community dwelling or living in their own apartments in houses for older people	Qualitative content analysis	Four themes: living with losses, feeling abandoned; living in confidence; feeling free (15 sub-themes)	29
3) Heravi- Karimooi et al. (2010) Iran	To explore the lived experiences of loneliness of Iranian elderly people	13 old adults (9 women, 4 men), aged 65 or >65	Community dwelling older adults living in their own houses	Hermeneutic phenomenology	Four essential themes: an aversive emotional state; isolated from intimate relationships; being deprived of a social and external support system; being abused and neglected	33
4) Roos & Klopper (2010) South Africa	To explore and describe older persons' subjective experiences of loneliness	31 (28 women, 3 men) mean age 74.26	Living in their own homes in a retirement village, in residential care facilities or with their children	Descriptive phenomenology	Three main themes: expressions of loneliness; contributing factors of loneliness; coping with loneliness (10 sub-themes)	30
5) Stanley et al. (2010) Australia	To understand the perceptions of loneliness held by both older people	60 older adults aged >67 (40 women, 20 men)	Living in long term care facilities, independent living	Descriptive, exploratory, thematic analysis	Five dimensions describe loneliness as: private; relational; connectedness;	34

	and those who provide services and support to them		units, community dwelling, receiving various levels of support		temporal; re-adjustment	
<u>6)</u> Hauge & Kirkevold (2012) Norway	To investigate how older people experience and deal with loneliness	12 older adults >70 (10 women, 2 men)	Living in private homes, nursing homes, independent living units	Hermeneutics	Variations in the burden of loneliness: manageable loneliness; agonizing loneliness	32
7) Roos & Malan (2012) South Africa	To explore older people's experiences of loneliness in the context of institutionalized care	10 older persons (7 women, 3 men), aged >62	Living in an economically deprived residential care facility with limited health and financial resources	Mmogo-method (participants' visual representations were discussed with the researchers) Thematic analysis	Two main themes: experiences of relationships (sub-themes: experiences of interactions, preferred interpersonal styles); relationships in the context of the residential care facility (sub-themes: unsafe, lacking care, non-stimulating environment)	34
8) Smith (2012) US	To explore the meaning of loneliness in community-dwelling older adults and to understand their daily practices in coping with loneliness	12 older adults (8 women, 4 men), aged >74	Community dwelling	Interpretive phenomenology	Two main areas of findings: disrupted meaningful engagement with others due to various age-related changes; coping practices	32
9) Kvaal et al. (2014) Norway	To describe and compare the perceived social provision for a group never feeling lonely with a group reporting feeling lonely (quantitative part) and to explore the meaning of loneliness (qualitative part)	76 (51 women, 25 men), aged >65, with chronic physical conditions	Recently admitted to geriatric wards	Qualitative content analysis	Main theme: 'Confined with emptiness and negative emotions' (11 subthemes: sadness, anxiety, anger, guilt, left alone, confined, useless, emptiness, boredom, vacuum, potential for change)	33
10) Theeke et al. (2015) US	To explore the experience of living with loneliness and multiple chronic	14 older women, mean age 74.4 years, with chronic	Community dwelling	Phenomenology, story theory thematic content	Four categories (including 13 themes): negative emotions; positive emotions when not	37

	conditions for rural older	physical conditions		analysis	lonely; loss of independence;	
	women in Appalachia				ways of managing loneliness	
11) Taube et al.	To explore the experience	12 older people (10	Living at home, in	Qualitative content	Overall theme: 'Being in a	
$\overline{(2016)}$ Sweden	of loneliness among frail	women, 2 men),	need of assistance,	analysis	bubble' with 3 sub-themes:	37
	older people living at home	aged 68-88	hospital admissions	-	barriers; hopelessness;	
		_	last vear		freedom	



Figure 2, The metaphor

